

EIR

SPECIAL REPORT

Never Again! London's genocide against Africans

June 1997

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Executive Intelligence Review

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PART 1

London's gameplan leads to Nazi genocide in Central Africa

Introduction

Now the truth is out even in the press of the United States: A holocaust has occurred, and is continuing, in East Africa. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed by starvation, disease, and exhaustion, or have been simply brutally murdered in eastern Zaire. In the pages that follow, the reader will be confronted with images of death reminiscent of the holocaust of the extermination campaigns of Adolf Hitler: masses of people being herded onto boxcar trains at gunpoint; listless human beings emaciated beyond recognition; mass graves; death marches—one after another after another after another, as armed killers relentlessly hunt down refugees across distances of hundreds of kilometers; the burning of bodies for purposes of concealment; clusters of bodies of dead infants found on the jungle floor; and orphaned and un comforted children left to die alone on the side of the road or on the jungle paths.

Didn't we say "*Never Again*"?

The reader should not make the mistake of seizing upon the apparently reassuring, actually dangerous delusion that this is an "African phenomenon"—another unfortunate instance in an endless cycle of ethnic killing.

The wars in East Africa 1990-97 are the direct and deliberate result of policies and programs *initiated* by British intelligence, as this news service has documented in detail over the last three years. Propelled by the ongoing collapse of the global financial system, the British oligarchy—arrayed in the Privy Council to the British monarchy, with powers and financial wealth throughout the British Commonwealth—is seeking to carry out one of the biggest land grabs in African history. The aim is to secure the property rights and cartelized control over Africa's vast wealth in strategic minerals and food production, for companies such as Sir George Bush's Barrick Gold.

Despite talk of "a new Fashoda" in the British press, the wars are *not* the result of "inter-imperialist rivalries." With its sizable investments in the British colony of Uganda, France is getting its own slice of the pie, which may account for the impotence of French policy in Africa, and also for its inability to call London to account—reserving its attacks only for the United States.

What the world is witnessing in the unfolding catastrophes in eastern Africa is rather the rise of a new phase of oligarchical aggression against all humanity. The mass death taking place in the region is reminiscent of the images of Nazi Germany, precisely because the force that has been unleashed against Africa is fascist in nature.

As the *Times* of London, speaking for the British Foreign Office, has openly stated, this force centers on an old alliance of African leaders, almost all of whom were schooled at Julius Nyerere's Dar Es Salaam University in Tanzania, or were

otherwise schooled in radical Marxist-Leninism. The force is led by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, in whose orbit are Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki; Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi; John Garang, of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army; Rwandan Defense Minister Paul Kagame; Burundian military dictators Pierre Buyoya and Jean-Baptiste Bagaza; and the new leader of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Laurent Desire Kabila.

In all cases, these potentates were brought to power, or in the case of Garang, strenuously backed, by British intelligence, and allied networks.

In all cases, we shall show, the underlying ideology of this gang is fascist, centered in the doctrines of nihilistic rage and "purgative violence" of Frantz Fanon and his master, Jean-Paul Sartre (see Part 5). Their zeal for violence is matched only by their loyalty to the "free enterprise system" of their masters.

In all cases, these killers are leaders of a military force deployed with a dual purpose: 1) to enforce through sheer terror policies of maximum extraction of wealth from their own nations on behalf of the looting British and allied financial interests "investing" in their countries; and 2) to carry out policies of aggression against neighboring countries, thereby expanding the territory of control on behalf of the British Privy Council-Commonwealth nexus.

Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, and now Zaire are no longer sovereign nation-states, or even the weak and semi-independent states of the neocolonialist rule of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

These countries have effectively been recolonized. But there is to be no colonial administration. All government functions designed to deliver services to the populace are scrapped. The military is the only recipient of funding. The only economic activity is that associated with foreigners' extraction of wealth from the country. The function of the military is not for the benefit of national interests; the militaries are transformed into mercenary forces employed by the financial and mining companies deriving the benefits of their services.

In the case of Kabila's drive across Zaire, this mercenary relationship was unabashed. Throughout the seven-month war, Kabila was receiving cash injections from deals struck with Anglo American Corp., De Beers, and the whole gaggle of British Commonwealth and some U.S. firms which descended on Lubumbashi on May 9, to ensure the cash requirements for Kabila's final march on Kinshasa.

Where will the gang strike next? As Yoweri Museveni stated in a speech in Kampala in April: "My mission is to see that Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire become a federal state under one

NEVER AGAIN!

These children are being starved in a refugee camp near Kisingani, Zaire, in a campaign of extermination as methodical as the Nazis' persecution of the Jews. Below, Jews from the ghetto of Lodz, Poland are herded onto boxcars bound for the Chelmno death camp.



nation. . . . As Hitler did to bring together Germany, we should also do it here. Hitler was a smart guy, but I think he went a bit too far by wanting to conquer the world world." Where will the next war erupt? In Sudan, Kenya, Congo-Brazzaville, Central Africa Republic? With ancillary aid from Nelson Mandela and Anglo American Corp.'s South Africa; from the formerly Marxist MPLA government of Angolan President Jose Dos Santos; and from the Tanzania of Julius Nyerere himself—is there any constraint being placed on London's marcherlord force? Supplied with cash, protected by orchestrated propaganda in the Western press, and faced in the right direction, this gang of killers can be relied upon to "do their own thing" to London's satisfaction—in defiance of any "requests" or "advisement" that might be coming from the government of the United States.

What about the millions of dead left in their wake? Can

there be any doubt that a world that sits idly by and watches the merciless destruction of human life—as has been witnessed over the last three years in East Africa—has lost the moral fitness to survive?

This is the question that has been called by the holocaust in East Africa—a question posed most forcefully to the United States. Now, as in the case of Nazi Germany, the national security of the United States depends upon bringing about an unequivocal and rapid halt to the British Commonwealth gang now devouring Africa. The United States has the capability to do that—if the American population supports that declaration of republican war by an American President against the British Empire.

Is "Never Again" just a hollow and cynical phrase, or have we learned the lessons of history? That is the question posed to the reader of this report, the question posed to you.

London's coordinated military fronts in East Africa

Yoweri Museveni's Uganda is the hub for British operations in East Africa, the springboard for war on two fronts in the last six months—against Zaire and against Sudan.

Museveni today is the linchpin for an integrated military force, inclusive now of Uganda, Eritrea, Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, John Garang's Sudanese People's Liberation Front, and also Tanzania and Angola. The combined armed forces of these British-deployables is a formidable force in size.

- **Ethiopia**, according to State Department reports of July 1996, has one of the largest armed forces on the African continent: 250,000 men, most of whom are battle-hardened from the long Ethiopian civil war.

- **Eritrea** has 50,000 men in its armed forces.

- **Uganda** has at least 100,000 men in its armed forces.

- **Rwanda** has 40,000 men under arms, many of whom were previously in the Ugandan Army. Rwandan officers, such as Kagame himself, received training in the United States in the late 1980s as members of the Ugandan military.

- **Burundi** has 30,000 in this mono-ethnic Tutsi military, which is run at the top by the Tutsi Hima clique of the southern province of Bururi.

John Garang's SPLA also has 15,000 men under arms.

In total, this is a military force of 475,000 men, not even counting whatever Kabila has managed to scrape together in Zaire itself, or the ancillary troops of Tanzania and Angola. Needless to say, in countries of such poverty as exists in Africa, the maintenance of these forces diverts nearly all government resources.

A unified command

Integration of this military command began even before Museveni came to power in 1986. Burundi's Tutsi dictator Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (1976-87), was an early funder of Museveni's war in the bush of Uganda against Ugandan Presidents Milton Obote and Tito Okello (1981-86), forking over Burundian state funds for the project.

The Rwandan Patriotic Front itself comes right from the highest echelons of the Ugandan army: The late RPF leader Fred Rwigyema was a major-general in the Ugandan army, and current Rwandan Defense Minister Paul Kagame was the national intelligence director for Museveni's National Resistance Army. According to Ugandan sources, one-fifth of the Ugandan army was deployed for the invasion of Rwanda in 1990.

In September 1996, the Ugandan, Burundian, and Rwandan militaries invaded eastern Zaire. At the time of the taking

of Bunia in February, there were up to two full divisions of Ugandan troops, between 17,000 and 20,000 soldiers, inside Zaire.

As early as 1994, the Ugandan foreign ministry had been forced to publicly deny that it was training Zairean rebels on its soil. But *Times* of London correspondent Sam Kiley wrote Jan. 28, 1997, that Kabila's Zairean forces had "been trained in Rwanda and Uganda by Eritrean and Ethiopian instructors. . . ." Assuming this to be true, it points to the fact that *for London*, the September 1996 invasion of Zaire from Uganda and Rwanda, and the January 1997 invasion of Sudan from Ethiopia and Eritrea represent *one integrated military theatre with two fronts*.

In the early days of the invasion of Zaire, the presence of Rwandan and Burundian troops on Zairean soil was an acknowledged fact.

In the lead-up to the invasion, on July 14, 1996, the Zairean government charged that the RPF had attacked Rwandan Hutu refugee camps in Zaire along the Rwandan border, and had exchanged fire with Zairean troops in a six-hour fire fight. Then, on Sept. 25, Paris Radio International reported that the RPF had exchanged eight hours of gunfire with Zairean forces in Bukavu.

By Oct. 25, the *Times* of London was reporting that "Local people in Bugarama, a village on the knot of borders between Burundi, Zaire, and Rwanda, confirmed intelligence source reports that about 2,000 Rwandan soldiers crossed into Burundi and then Zaire last week. Rwandan soldiers have 'requisitioned' four-wheel drive vehicles from Zaire, some of which were owned by relief agencies. Along with their Zairean Tutsi comrades, they have emptied Uvira [the refugee town on the border] of everything and everyone." Even in the United States, the *Washington Post's* Stephen Buckley wrote Oct. 29 from Bujumbura, Burundi, that the fighting in Zaire "appears to have been orchestrated by the Rwandan government." The *Post* justified the invasion however, saying that the Rwandan government was "weary of a two-year-long crisis at its borders. . . . In essence, analysts say, tensions between the Tutsis in Zaire and the military provided the perfect opportunity for Rwanda's government to solve its own crisis—and for Burundi—to neutralize a Burundian Hutu rebel force operating for two years out of Zaire, near Uvira."

There is no mention of Laurent Kabila in any of these reports, as the "Zairean liberator" at that time was still in Kampala, Uganda, where he was busy with his gold-smuggling operation.

By the time Kabila took Kinshasa, the war in Zaire not only involved Ugandan, Rwandan, and Burundian troops, but the Katangan Gendarmes, flown in from Angola. And, Angolan troops were deployed to take Kinshasa directly.

Jihad against Sudan

The mid-January invasion of Sudan from Ethiopia and Eritrea was directly coordinated with London, where Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy speaker of the House of Lords and

1990-1997: The death count so far

1990: Rwanda—Invasion of Rwanda by Uganda results in the deaths of 150,000 to 200,000 people. One million are displaced.

1993-1997: Burundi—Attempted coup in Burundi and murder of elected President Melchior Ndayaye results in killing of 100,000. It is estimated that another 150,000 to 200,000 people were killed in Burundi between 1993 and the military coup of July 1996. Another 60,000 people were killed between July and December 1996. There are currently 800,000 Burundians incarcerated in "protected villages"—or concentration camps—which are now hit by the largest typhus epidemic since World War II, according to the World Health Organization. Number of deaths in these camps is unknown.

1994: Rwanda—Invasion of Rwanda by Ugandan Army and Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) leads to mass killing, on part of both RPF and Interahamwe militias, according to multiple Rwandan and non-Rwandan sources. Estimated dead in Rwanda in spring-summer of 1994: 1 million.

1994: Goma, Zaire—The RPF blitzkrieg across Rwanda sent 1.2 million Rwandans fleeing westward across the border into eastern Zaire. The makeshift camps along the contaminated Lake Kivu resulted in a cholera epidemic. Until a U.S. military deployment secured clean water for the camps, it is estimated that at least 200,000 people died.

1994-97: Rwanda—Since the RPF seizure of power in Rwanda, a



Since April 20 of this year, up to 45,000 refugees, the last remnants of the 600,000 that remained in Zaire, have been liquidated by the British-backed genocidalists who are being heralded as the leaders of a "new Africa."

conservative estimate of the numbers killed is 500,000. Multiple sources report that intellectuals, even those who can read and write, and any local or provincial officials of the previous government, are targeted for death. In mid-1995, the United Nations High Commission on Refugees reported that there were 3.5 million refugees inside Rwanda, and another 2 million in refugee camps outside the country. That is, 5.5 million people out of a total of 7.5 million as of the end of 1993. Leaving aside 1.2 million people killed in spring-summer 1994, that leaves 800,000 Rwandans missing. According to well-informed American sources, it is unlikely they are alive. Some 8,000 of these people died in the highly publicized RPF slaughter at the Kibeho refugee camp in southwest Rwanda in April 1995. As Joseph Bideri, media spokesman for

Rwandan President Bizimungu, admitted in a press conference in Kigali on Jan. 28, "We are killing people, but these are the people who carried out the genocide in 1994."

1996-97: East Zaire—It is not known how many people have been killed or died of starvation and disease in eastern Zaire since the October invasion from Rwanda and Uganda. There are 300,000-500,000 Rwandan refugees unaccounted for. It is not known how many Zaireans have been killed in the war, nor how many of the 200,000 Burundian refugees in Zaire have been killed.

The total death count for London's East Africa wars—exclusive of the theater of operations against Sudan—stands conservatively at between 2,460,000 to 3,060,000 human beings. At least half of the dead are children under 15 years of age.

leader of the so-called Christian Solidarity International (CSI), is the case officer for the Privy Council's crusade against the nation-state of Sudan.

An earlier September 1995 invasion of Sudan from Uganda had failed miserably, as the SPLA and Ugandan forces were unable to come near the southern stronghold city of Juba, even with the aid of the deployment of Tanzanian troops within Uganda itself.

Beginning Jan. 16, 1997, as reported by the British Foreign Office, Museveni was in London, where he met with British Foreign Minister Malcolm Rifkind, and Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker. Museveni at the time also attended a conference of the elite bankers' think tank, the Ditchley Foundation, where he was the only African present. According to London sources, he also met with Burundian dictator Pierre Buyoya and Rwanda's Defense Minister Kagame in London at the same time.

Interviewed by the London *Financial Times*, Museveni called for an all-Africa jihad against Sudan, saying that the Organization of African Unity should declare the civil war in Sudan a "colonial conflict" so that Uganda and other OAU countries could join in the fight against Khartoum. According to Museveni, whom the *Financial Times* described as "one of Africa's most influential leaders," Sudan was carrying on a policy of "enforced assimilation" of the south. "If it goes on like this," he said, "I think the OAU should declare the south Sudanese people a colonised people."

Times of London correspondent Sam Kiley explained the phenomenon in an article Jan. 17. Calling Uganda's coordination of invasions a "complex web of overlapping civil wars," Kiley said claims of an "anglophone conspiracy" were not off the mark, citing the "Gang of Four" in Africa—Museveni, Afwerki of Eritrea, Zenawi of Ethiopia, and Kagame of Rwanda. "The leaders of four African countries have launched a cross-border military purge of their enemies. . . . President Museveni, who arrived in London for a private conference last night, is at the centre of the initiative, which is based on friendships between African guerrillas-turned-politicians, forged in conflict and in student days in the 1970s. With the enthusiastic backing of the United States and the quiet approval of Great Britain, they are now retaliating against neighbouring states which have been harbouring rebel groups opposed to them. . . . They are doing so by, in turn, assisting rebels against the governments of those countries.

"This week, the SPLA, led by John Garang, a long-time colleague of Mr. Museveni and Major General Kagame, has won remarkable victories against Khartoum's army on the borders with Eritrea and Ethiopia. Both countries have denied any involvement with the SPLA, but Eritrean and Ethiopian officers have been seen commanding SPLA soldiers."

Kiley further notes that, though Uganda and Rwanda deny involvement in the "uprising by rebels in eastern Zaire, soldiers freely admit that they were trained in Rwanda and served in the Rwandan army. Some even spoke only Ugan-

dan languages, such as Acholi."

The March invasion of Sudan by John Garang's SPLA and Ugandan forces was also coordinated with the invasion of Zaire. The Garang and Ugandan forces struck Sudan from the northeast corner of Zaire—not from Uganda. This was necessitated by the locking up of the Sudan-Ugandan border by the combined forces of the anti-Museveni Ugandan insurgencies, the Lord's Resistance Army and the West Nile Bank Front. This invasion route was made possible by the seizure of the northeastern quadrant of Zaire by Ugandan forces invading from the east. According to Ugandan and American sources, there were up to two divisions of Ugandan forces deployed into the region.

Who supplies the arms?

Reportedly, a major supplier of arms for the entire Ugandan-centered war effort is Nelson Mandela and Anglo American Corp.'s South Africa. Under request by Museveni are the shipment of surface-to-air missiles, which would permit Ugandan forces to hit the Sudan Air Force. Museveni, in turn, distributes the arms to his allied forces.

In addition, Israel has been a major supplier for the war effort against Sudan, particularly through Eritrea, which has close ties to the Israeli intelligence services. According to the Jordanian newspaper *al-Hadath* of Feb. 24, "An Israeli military vessel that had originated in the Israeli port of Eilat with a cargo of 13 containers of heavy and medium weapons, as well as U.S.-made 1996 model machine guns and combat attire, was said to have docked at the Eritrean port of Mas-sawa. Directly upon the military shipment's arrival, the sources said, it was transported aboard a military helicopter to al-Ruways camp on the Sudan-Eritrean border, where Sudanese rebels are based. A 13-member Israeli military team, headed by Amon Baraq, is in Eritrea to assure themselves of the delivery's arrival, and to oversee the training of rebel elements on the use of the new weapons and to familiarize themselves with the progress made by the rebels and the Eritrean and Ethiopian militaries, according to *al-Hadath* sources. The Israeli military delegation, add the sources, headed for Asmara, where military commanders are laying the groundwork for meetings of the opposition Sudanese democratic grouping led by John Garang."

As reported in the U.S. press, the United States has also handed over shipments of "non-lethal equipment" to the so-called "front line" states against Sudan. This includes uniforms, communications equipment, etc., to the tune of \$20 million. Needless to say, this flow frees up funds for purchases of lethal equipment. The United States has denied Museveni's requests for jet-fighters and surface-to-air missiles.

In addition, *EIR* has confirmed that deliveries to Entebbe for the United Nations multilateral force, proposed in November but which never materialized, were diverted to use by the Ugandan armed forces for the invasion of Zaire.

The chain reactions of catastrophe

The British launched the creation of their fascist militarist combine with the coming to power in 1986 of Yoweri Museveni in Uganda. Although the Burundi military had ruled directly in Bujumbura since the coup of 1966, their slaughters of Burundi's Hutu population, reaching a peak with the murder of 500,000 people in 1972, was confined within Burundi's borders. The coming to power of Museveni marked a decision to carry out wars of aggression in the region as a whole.

A pattern of aggression emerges, beginning with the 1990 invasion of Rwanda from Uganda. A country is targeted for leadership change or for a change in the behavior of its current leadership. The victim-country is broken, either through pressures applied primarily from the West—foreign aid donor and International Monetary Fund embargos, combined with diplomatic pressure and isolation—or directly by military invasion from a British-puppet government or insurgency contiguous to it. In the case of Rwanda and Zaire, the first assault prepares the ground for the second, as the first weakens and erodes to the point of collapse any national institution that might be able to muster a defense against military invasion.

Once the victim-nation is broken, it is "hollowed out." Its borders cease to delineate a nation, but become the shell which now hosts the political equivalent of the invading force itself. The process could be likened to the biological invasion of a cell by a virus: The virus invades the cell; hollowing out its functional contents; and then using the empty shell to hold its own replicated viruses, it is poised to invade the cell adjoining it.

Such is the case of Uganda (1986); Rwanda (1994); Eritrea (1994); Ethiopia (1995); and now possibly Zaire (1997). Zaire's position especially, at the very center of Africa bordering nine countries, permits London's military combine to strike out in any direction.

Uganda: The Tutsi alliance

The turning point for Yoweri Museveni's bush war against the second government of President Milton Obote, came in 1983. It was at this point, that the bullheaded graduate of Nyerere's Dar Es Salaam kindergarten began to garner the international support he required to come to power. The reason came not from Uganda, but from Sudan, where 1983 marked the renewal of the Sudanese civil war, with the creation of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army of John Garang, a comrade of Museveni's from Dar Es Salaam and the University Students' African Revolutionary Front.

It was understood, that Obote could not be counted upon to aid in the war against Khartoum.

Also arriving on the scene that year was Roger Winter, of

the U.S. Committee on Refugees, who came to investigate the plight of the Banyarwanda, or immigrants from Rwanda, who were being expelled from southern Uganda by the Obote government. Winter today is the premier American "handler" of Garang, Museveni, Kagame, and Kabila. It was through the cover of refugee relief aid to the Banyarwanda, that Museveni first received the injections of cash required to sustain his bush war against Obote, according to multiple Ugandan sources.

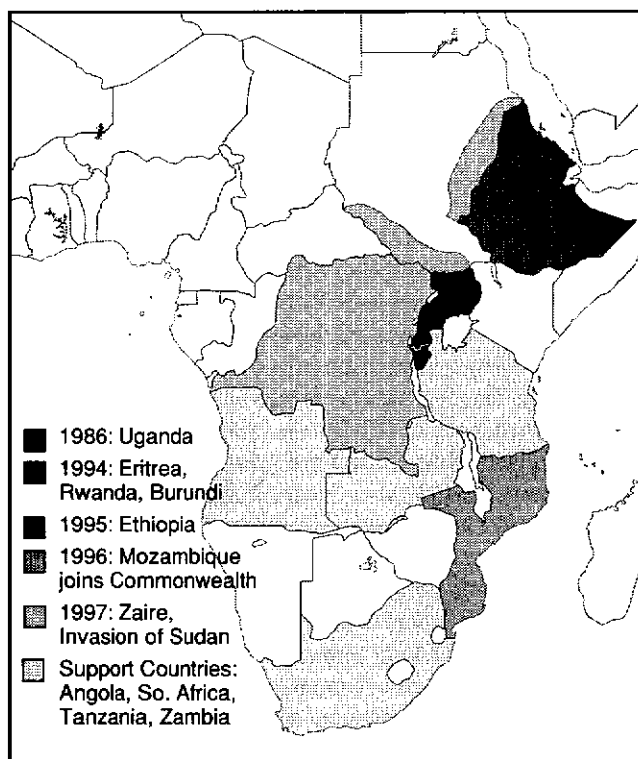
Museveni began picking up cash-support from other locations as well: Tiny Rowland's mega-corporation Lonrho, one of the crown jewels of the British Privy Council interests; Austria's Bruno Kriesky and the government of Sweden, where Museveni received asylum and final training in 1995; the moneybags for ITT in Nigeria, Mashood Abiola; the government of Libya; and Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, the Hima-Tutsi dictator of Burundi.

At the same time, the western press launched a supporting crusade against the Obote government, accusing it of gross atrocities in the Luwero Triangle of Buganda, Museveni's stronghold—a myth perpetrated by Winter, despite the fact that Museveni himself does not even make such a charge.

Museveni also recruited heavily from the Banyarwanda, many of whom were the sons of the upper strata of Tutsis who had been forced to leave Rwanda in the wake of the "Hutu revolution" of 1959. The Tutsi Rwandan Alliance for National Unity had been formed in 1979 as the forerunner to the revanchist Rwandan Patriotic Front. Museveni's bush war recruited large numbers of these Rwandans, such as Fred Rwigyema, who became a key component of Museveni's National Resistance Army.

Museveni's National Resistance Army won accolades from Roger Winter, who wrote in *Cultural Survival* magazine in the summer of 1987: "... The core of the NRA is a cadre of highly ideological, well-educated men and women who are strong nationalists. They have rejected the divisions of the past and have concluded that a unified nation must be achieved if the cycle of vicious violence in Uganda is to be broken. Their motivations, I believe, *after hundreds of hours of discussion with many of them*, are primarily political, not ethnic. ... The NRA has a thorough political education system and places political indoctrination high on the agenda for soldiers and new recruits. Nonsectarianism within society and detribalization of the army, now that the NRM is in power, are major tenets of the political agenda. Enforcement of discipline within the NRA is a cardinal operating principle. The NRA seeks to build a popular, highly politicized army that earns its way rather than lives off the people [emphasis added]."

FIGURE 1

British Privy Council's land grab in Africa

A pattern of aggression has emerged in East Africa, beginning with the 1990 invasion of Rwanda from Uganda. A country is targeted for leadership change, or for a change in the behavior of its current leadership. The victim-country is broken, either through pressures applied primarily from the West—foreign aid donor and International Monetary Fund embargos, combined with diplomatic pressure and isolation—or directly by military invasion from a British-puppet government or insurgency contiguous to it. Once the victim-nation is broken, it is “hollowed out.” Its borders cease to delineate a nation, but become the shell which now hosts the political equivalent of the invading force itself. The process could be likened to the biological invasion of a cell by a virus: The virus invades the cell, hollowing its functional contents; and then using the empty shell to hold its own replicated viruses, it is poised to invade the cell adjoining it. Such is the case of Uganda (1986), Rwanda (1994), Eritrea (1994), Ethiopia (1995), and now possibly Zaire (1997). Zaire's position especially, at the very center of Africa bordering nine countries, permits London's military combine to strike in any direction.

When Museveni came into Kampala in 1986—negating peace agreements that had just been reached with President Tito Okello, his first visitor was Baroness Lynda Chalker, British Minister of Overseas Development, who has remained a mentor and business partner (via his stepbrother) ever since.

Museveni had captured the country with only 10,000 men. Within two years, the National Resistance Army had swelled to 100,000 troops, 20,000 of whom were Banyarwanda. Dom-

ination of the army had been tilted toward Museveni's south, as the NRA waged a war of extermination against the northern remnants of the Uganda armed forces, a war which has resulted in the deaths of 300,000 people in northern Uganda and which continues today.

By 1990, the reason for the expansion of the National Resistance Army and its heavy reliance on Banyarwanda became very clear.

Target: Rwanda

It started with a phone call—from Washington—on the night of Sept. 29, 1990. Museveni and his unsuspecting counterpart Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana had been brought to Washington by President George Bush, according to well-informed sources, for negotiations on the question of the Banyarwanda and related matters. From here, Museveni placed a call to his troop commanders giving them the green light. The next day, 10,000 Ugandan troops—most of them Banyarwanda—rolled into Rwanda with armored personnel carriers. The invasion had been timed to take place while the world's attention was diverted to the unfolding drama of the Persian Gulf war.

The Ugandan President denied any foreknowledge of the attack, from his own soil with 10,000 of his own men, telling the press: “This took us by surprise. We had been getting intelligence reports which we shared with Rwandan authorities, but they were not confirmed.”

The Rwandan army of 7,000 was no match for the Ugandan onslaught, but in 1990—as opposed to 1994—French, Belgian, and Zairean paratroopers took up positions Oct. 5 around the capital of Kigali, and managed to keep the Habyarimana government intact. The country did not fare as well, however. The RPF took a bite out of the northern border area near Uganda, sending the Hutu population of the area in flight toward Kigali. No Tutsis living in Rwanda came to live in the RPF-held territory.

Meanwhile, Rwanda was “softened up” through enforced structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund and a Project Democracy challenge to the elected Habyarimana government.

The RPF launched another major assault against Rwanda in 1993, leading to intense negotiations. The Arusha Accords were already extremely generous, given the Ugandan-RPF aggression. A sizable chunk of the Rwandan army and government would come under RPF control.

But a negotiated settlement—as Habyarimana should have been able to know from the 1990 experience—was not to be. The plane in which President Habyarimana was returning to Rwanda from Arusha, was shot down at Kigali airport on April 6. Given that the elected Hutu President of Burundi, Melchior Ndadaye, had been brutally murdered in an attempted coup just seven months before, the endgame scenario had been set into motion—a mood of total desperation imposed by the belief that all compromise, all negotiation, is

completely impossible and only brute force matters.

The bloodletting that ensued was not simply a "Hutu genocide of Tutsis," but a generalized frenzy in which paranoid neighbors killed each other, in which the RPF slaughtered its way into the country, and in which unemployed youth organized into the *interahamwe* militias slaughtered as many Tutsis as they could get their hands on.

The result was that Rwanda was literally "emptied out," as more than 2 million fled the RPF blitzkrieg across the country. Hundreds of thousands of those who stayed have also been killed, leaving the population at less than one-half its size prior to the 1990 invasion.

Rwanda is no more. It is a virtual satellite of Museveni's Uganda, as witnessed by the Aug. 15-18, 1996, state visit to the country by Museveni. Rwandan President Pasteur Bizimungu declared that Rwanda can learn a great deal from Uganda, which "has rebuilt the economy and social fabric to a level acclaimed internationally." Bizimungu testified that Rwanda and Uganda will cooperate closely in the areas of "commerce and industry, transport and communications, energy, finance, especially in the fields of privatization and *tax collection, defense and internal security, justice, and education* [emphasis added]." The countries also agreed on the "free movement of goods and people between Rwanda and Uganda as the best way of nurturing health and larger economies." Museveni and Kagame share the Ugandan Presidential jet.

Rwanda has, of course, formally applied for membership in the British Commonwealth.

Second phase

By 1995, the second phase of the process ensued—invasionary expansion. The RPF began attacks on the refugee camps across the border in neighboring Zaire, and the Banyamulenge (Rwandan Tutsis living in Zaire) began to receive military training in Rwanda under Ethiopian and Eritrean instructors.

With escalating attacks on Zairean territory beginning in July 1996, full-scale invasion of the Zairean refugee camps was launched on Oct. 20, 1996, sending hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing for their lives into the inhospitable jungle.

Given its backing from not only Kampala but London, the Rwandan government is not shy about stating its demands for a new Berlin II conference, to revise the borders set by the first Berlin conference on Africa in 1884. In an interview with Brussels *Le Soir*, Rwandan Foreign Minister Pierre-Celestin Rwigema talked before a map in his office that showed an expanded Rwandan empire encompassing North and South Kivu provinces of Zaire. Asked about it, he said: "This map is interesting because it shows that the constitution of the kingdom of Rwanda dates back to 1345, and that in 1540 King Rwabugiri conquered . . . North Kivu, and that in 1910 we lost Idjwi Island. . . . The map also shows that the populations of South Kivu [in Zaire] used to owe their allegiance to the



Britain's Baroness Lynda Chalker, sponsor of Museveni's murderous regime in Uganda.

king of Rwanda, and paid tribute to him."

But the Kigali government is reportedly not waiting for Berlin II to be called. According to multiple reports, the Idjwi Island in Lake Kivu has now been retrieved and formally ceded to Rwanda by Laurent Kabila (who, after all, must watch his back), and, according to a Zairean government communiqué of Feb. 28, Rwandan flags are now hoisted in Kivu towns such as Jomba, Bunagana, Ntamugena, Rugari, Uvira, and Nyangezi.

In this case, Kigali's plans happen to fall in line with London's. As stated by British Foreign Office publicist Conor Cruise O'Brien, Zaire should be divided up—with London getting the eastern portion—what the British call "Boga-Zaire"—which also happens to be the site of Zaire's mineral wealth.

Marxist-Leninist reaps benefit of British free trade system

One of the biggest winners in the British Privy Council's onslaught against Africa may be Meles Zenawi, President of Ethiopia and head of the Tigray-based Ethiopian People's

Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Zenawi's EPRDF, representing only one ethnic grouping in Ethiopia, had been brought to power in 1991 not only by the strength of its own guns, but by more substantial aid coming from the Bush administration. Ushering in Zenawi et al. were then-Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen and George Moose, his successor, who was at the time the deputy chief of mission in the Addis Ababa embassy, there being no ambassador at the time. Moose and Cohen organized trips to Washington, London, and the Carter Center in Atlanta for Zenawi, and the requisite funds were supplied. Also on hand to aid the transition was Mossad case officer Uri Lubroni, whose mentor David Kimche was the Israeli Mossad's African station chief before he began running Iran-Contra errands for George Bush, after which he went to work for Tiny Rowland's Lonrho.

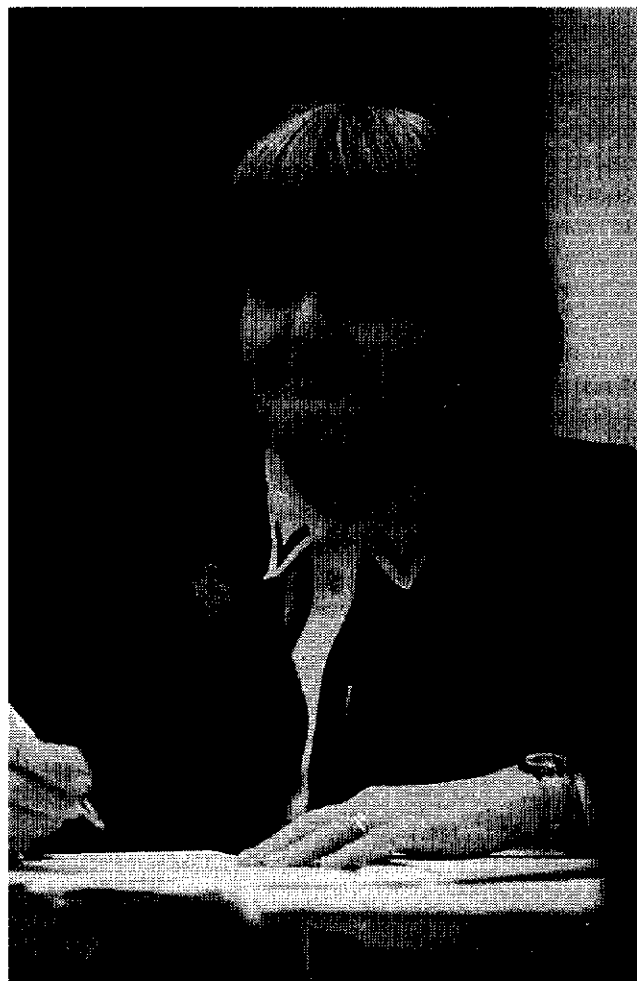
By agreement from London and Washington, other Ethiopian opponents of the Russian-backed regime of Haile Mariam Mengistu, including the Oromo Liberation Front, representing 25 million people, more than 50% of the population, and the Amhara democratic opposition, were locked out of the game.

This was a strange twist of events for Zenawi et al., who had started their days as a "marxist-leninist" party under the patronage of the Albanian Communist Party, itself one of the stranger offspring of the notorious British triple agent Kim Philby.

To his credit, according to sources, Zenawi resisted extreme pressures coming from his benefactors in London and Washington, and from the International Monetary Fund, to join with Isaias Afwerki of Eritrea and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, to declare war on Sudan. Afwerki had suddenly and summarily broken relations with Sudan in December 1994, and within a year his capital Asmara was host to the Sudanese "National Democratic Alliance," an anti-Khartoum conglomeration organized by the Deputy Speaker of the British House of Lords Caroline Cox.

Zenawi resisted all the way up to the hoked-up assassination attempt on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa in June 1995. Although the initial Ethiopian government reports on the attempt stated that the would-be assassins were Egyptian nationals, within a week, Zenawi was playing along, claiming that the hit men were Sudanese, that the conspiracy against Mubarak had been hatched in Sudan, and demanding extradition of the alleged assassins who had allegedly fled to Sudan from the scene of the crime. According to British sources, British ambassador to Addis Ababa Robin Christopher, a key policymaker in the British Foreign Office, may have had a large role to play in the turnaround.

Ethiopia stuck to its new story, and went full tilt to the United Nations Security Council, demanding sanctions against Sudan unless the three alleged hit men were handed over. In January 1996, the first phase of diplomatic sanctions were slapped on Sudan, and the threat of escalation still hangs



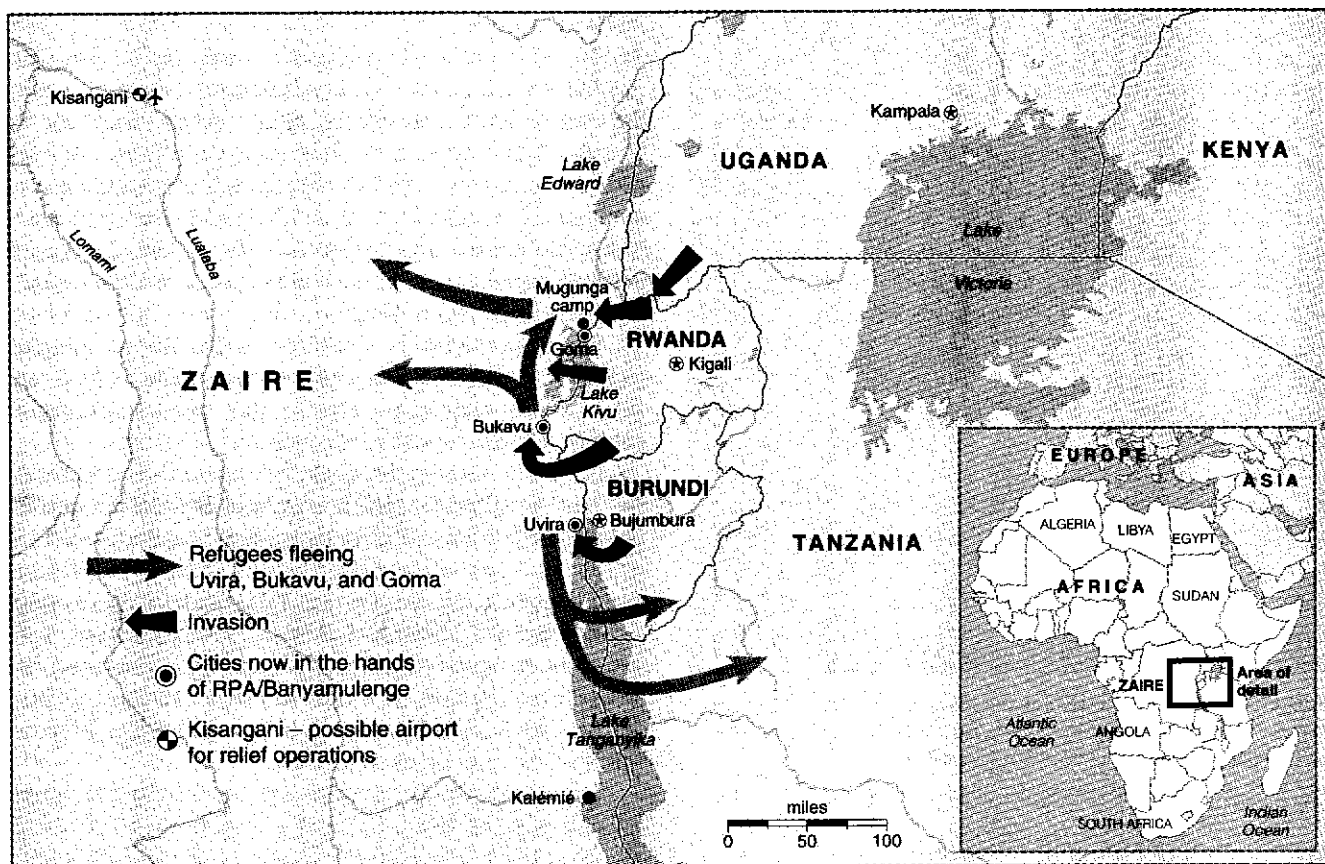
Deputy Speaker of the British House of Lords Caroline Cox, organizer of the international combine against the government of Sudan.

over Khartoum—despite all the evidence accumulated that the hit men were Egyptian and that they are not in Sudan. Such evidence includes an interview in Afghanistan with one of the confessed hit men, who not only exonerated Sudan in the interview, but attacked Khartoum for being un-Islamic.

For his role in this farce, and then for his acquiescence to the use of the Ethiopian armed forces for training of Museveni's "Tutsi legions" and for the January 1997 invasion of Sudan from Ethiopian soil, Zenawi has indeed reaped a hefty payoff, as this, undoubtedly partial, listing shows:

- October 1995: \$45 million from Italy.
- October 1995: Deals sealed with Canadian firm Gold Star Resources, the Swedish firm Boliden, and the U.S. Canyon Resources, for exploration of untapped gold reserves in Ethiopia.
- February 1996: Ashanti Goldfields of Ghana signs a \$700,000 joint venture for gold exploration.
- February 1996: Canadian firm St. Genvieve Resource

FIGURE 2

The British-backed invasion of Zaire, October–November 1996

Limited signs gold exploration deal.

- November 1996: \$11 million from Baroness Chalker's Overseas Development Fund is promised by the Baroness during a visit.

- November 1996: South Africa's ISCOR iron and steel company, diversifying into mining, announces major investments in Ethiopia.

- December 1997: Just a month before Ethiopia invades Sudan, "donor" countries pledged Zenawi \$2.5 billion over the next three years—an unheard of sum for any African country. This was half a billion *more* than Ethiopia had even asked for! "The fact that donors pledged to give Ethiopia more than it asked for indicated the vote of confidence the donor community has in Ethiopia," said Callisto Madavo of the World Bank.

- January 1997: Paris Club of creditor nations agrees to give Ethiopia debt relief, a reduction of debts up to 67%.

- January 1997: European Community signs agreement giving Ethiopia \$460 million for loans and grants—\$370 million of which will be handed over with no strings attached.

Given Ethiopia's 250,000-man armed forces, one shud-

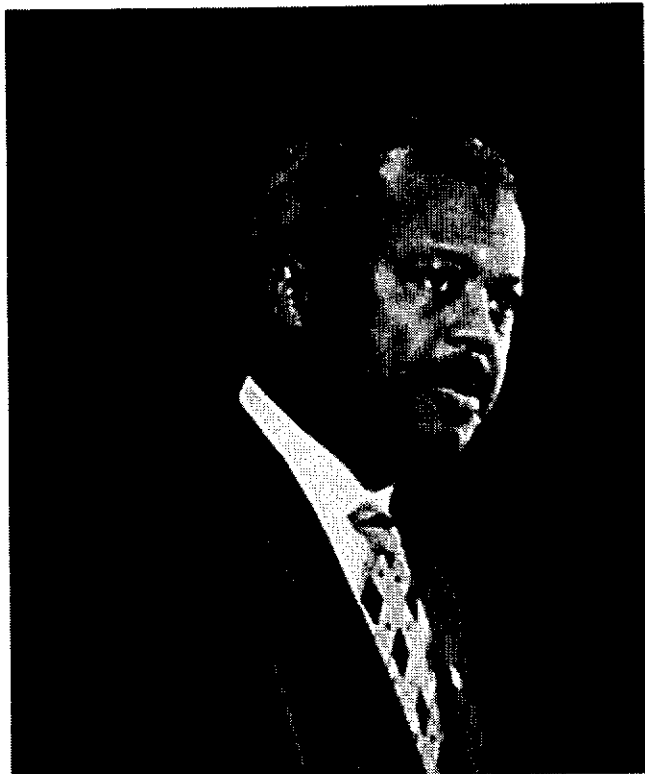
ders to think what the consequences will be for Africa, of Meles Zenawi's payola.

The set-up of Zaire

"The end of the Cold War has eroded Zairean President Mobutu's usefulness as a bulwark against Soviet influence in Africa," wrote Alan Riding in the *New York Times* in 1991. To be sure, the message had already been delivered to Kinshasa.

Within a year of the fall of the Berlin Wall, on Nov. 2, 1990, the U.S. Congress rejected a request from the Bush administration for \$4 million in military aid and \$40 million in humanitarian assistance to the country of Zaire of long-standing U.S. ally President Mobutu Sese Seko. The pressure had actually begun earlier, in May 1990, when soldiers shot and killed numbers of rioting students in the Shaba province city of Lubumbashi. The United States, France, and Belgium declared that all aid to Zaire should cease until the President agreed to an international commission of inquiry into the killings.

So began the long siege of Zaire, which ended on May 15, when the mercenary and gold smuggler Laurent Kabila strode



Rep. Donald Payne, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, toes the British line on Africa policy, and fell into line behind the London-orchestrated movement to break Zaire.

into Kinshasa and assumed full powers as President of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Before the invasion of Zaire beginning October 1996 from Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi, Zaire had managed to survive numbers of invasions—almost all of them coming from British Commonwealth countries, in a bid to grab the mineral-rich eastern half of the country. There had been the famous Katanga secessionist attempt in 1960-63, backed by Britain and Belgium; another attempted grab at the diamond-rich Kasai province in 1960-62; another bid for Shaba—called Shaba I—using Zambia as the springboard and backed by both Russia and the British Commonwealth in 1977; followed by Shaba II in 1978 orchestrated by the same parties and ending after a 90-day war; and then a later bid in 1985-88 with backing from Tanzania, Uganda, and Britain.

None of these efforts succeeded. The 1996 bid brought victory to the Commonwealth, because in the interim from 1990 and 1996, Zaire's economy and those institutions that might have been able to withstand the invasion, were systematically destroyed.

First, the plug was pulled on the economy, which, in turn, caused major instability. Already, the plummeting of the price of copper on the world market had made copper production an unprofitable venture. Cut off by the International Monetary Fund for failure to meet payment terms and

cut off from foreign aid, by the end of 1990, prices of basic staples—rice, manioc flour, sugar, and oil—had doubled in one month, and food riots had broken out in Kinshasa and its environs.

By the fall of 1991, inflation was running at more than 3,000% a year, and the Bush administration announced in September that it was cutting off all aid to Zaire, due to "human rights abuses and failure to meet the terms of economic reform programs." Within a week of that announcement, several hundred French and Belgian paratroopers were flown into Kinshasa to keep order, after soldiers, who had not been paid in months, first mutinied and looted the capital, followed by general rioting.

To be sure, Mobutu had long severed any meaningful relationship with Zaire's people, relying on his patrons outside Zaire to keep in power no matter what, and his own patronage machine inside the country.

But 1991, Washington handed Mobutu an ultimatum that he "must permit the opposition to hold key cabinet posts," in the words of State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler, and a stand-off was momentarily ended when Mobutu named opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi to form a crisis government. But when Mobutu fired Tshisekedi a week later, the crisis escalated. On Nov. 6, speaking before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Africa, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen declared that Mobutu "has lost the legitimacy to govern."

But the most important demand came further down in Cohen's speech: "Such a [new] government in Zaire will have to act immediately to place Zaire's financial institutions under independent, transparent control acceptable to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund."

Escalation and disintegration

Mobutu continued to resist all demands, shuffling his prime ministers like cards in a deck, to ensure that no one ever got a grip on power. In 1992, the rioting and looting by soldiers and the deterioration of the security situation, caused most European countries to pull up stakes for the time being. This was another disastrous blow to the Zairean economy, since the westerners ran whatever infrastructure existed in the country.

Western governments continued to pressure. By 1993, there was no U.S. ambassador in Kinshasa—and Cohen's replacement George Moose stated that the U.S. would not send one "until the democracy process has resumed."

Agitation arose from Congress. Rep. Donald Payne, and Rep. Harry Johnston, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, called on Clinton to escalate against Zaire, first with reduced diplomatic contacts, then to curbs on trade, and finally to seek United Nations Security Council intervention. Rep. Lee Hamilton called for Zaire's immediate suspension from the International Monetary Fund, a ban on all its copper and cobalt exports, and an arms embargo.

The IMF did suspend Zaire in 1994, although all funds

had been stopped in 1993. At this point, beginning in 1994, the Zairean government began to completely disintegrate. All services to the population—medical, education, administrative—ground to a halt. The 40,000-man army and 30,000-man police force were left to live off the country, so that Zairean citizens were placed in the position of having to fend off wholesale armed robbers, in the uniforms of police and armed forces. The only soldiers paid were those of the Presidential Guard which had been organized by the Israelis for Mobutu in the 1980s—a move which destroyed the Zairean armed forces as a national defense institution.

As the government unraveled at the top, and as production in all forms broke down, the social fabric of the country also began to unravel. Ethnic rivalries broke out in Katanga, against resident Kasais there, and also in Kasai against Banyamulenge (immigrant Tutsis from Rwanda).

For all practical purposes, Zaire was disintegrating, like a rundown slum dwelling maintained by an absentee landlord. The combination of Mobutu's corruption and disregard for his responsibility to Zaireans, and the total cut-off of all funds to the country for the last six years, have destroyed the nation of Zaire.

Hence, in October of 1996, when Rwandan, Ugandan, and Burundian troops stormed across the borders, they met

with little resistance. While the Rwandans took on the task of slaughtering refugees, the Ugandans secured the northeast quadrant of Zaire and the Burundians marched through Shaba province. The taking of Zaire had been the plan all along, say American and Zairean informed sources. In 1990, when Ugandan-Rwandan troops invaded Rwanda, the head of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, Ugandan Major General Fred Rwigyema, had argued that the RPF should only retrieve Rwanda and not seek to create a "Greater Rwanda" by advancing further on Zaire. According to these sources, this is why he was mysteriously killed at the front in 1990. His fourth in command Paul Kagame, now Defense Minister, however, set his sites on Zaire.

At the point of the invasion of Zaire in October, nary a peep was heard from the Western powers, protesting the invasion, any more than governments protested the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees who had sought and found haven in Zaire. One State Department desk officer complained of *EIR*'s reporting of East Africa as "all wrong. The issue is Mobutu—Mobutu has to go." Even if one were to admit that the cancer-ridden potentate should stand aside sooner rather than later, the question still remains: Why was an invasion and the killing of 3 million people required to accomplish this task?

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From their own evil mouths: British press outlets advertize plans to recolonize Africa

The following quotes on the British strategy toward Africa, for the most part from the leading press outlets of the City of London, make very clear what the oligarchy wishes to accomplish on the African continent.

May 27-28, 1995, James Morgan, economics correspondent of the BBC World Service, "Who Needs the State? Nations Can Be Companies," *Financial Times* of London.

"According to a former African prime minister, discoursing over his *crème brûlée*: 'The trouble is, the fixed costs of being a country are too great.' One of the guests had been wondering what could be done about some of the worst-endowed countries of the sub-Sahara region; I had suggested handing them over to a rancher to run as commercial operations.

"It was meant to annoy, but failed. The former PM expressed mild interest and said that, when he had taken office, he had been struck by the excessive cost of embassies and armed forces, so they had been cut. Even cabinet ministers were too expensive.

"The state has broken down in much of Africa: Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Somalia and others have ceased to function. The UN Development Programme says this is a growing trend. . . .

"Yet, should many of these places be states in the first place? If some countries, especially in Africa, were to be run along the lines of commercial enterprises rather than states, investors might find much that was attractive.

"Why should not states in Africa follow the example set by the corporate sector itself? . . .

"Indeed, if there were no government in, say, Rwanda, it is likely it would have been spared the horrors of the past year. There would have been nothing to have set one ethnic group against the other, no centre of total power for which anybody would have fought.

"This is not an argument for imperialism. Instead, groups of small countries could form some kind of federation and buy in common services. The World Bank and IMF are involved in setting up tax systems for their clients; they could go the whole hog and run the tax collecting operations.

"Other international institutions could play a more useful role than they do today by actually becoming suppliers of what have been regarded as government services. Private bodies could be involved. Overseas representation—who knows? Moody's?

"... What room does this leave for democracy? That question can be asked everywhere. In a world where the bond markets dominate much of the decision-making process in the wealthiest nations, democracy is, in one sense, on the way out. . . .

"Anybody who has worked in Africa knows that individual communities are resilient and inventive when left to find solutions to specific problems. Governments destroyed many of the systems that gave rise to those solutions.

"Now is the time to reverse the process."

* * * *

August 18, 1996, Norman Stone, "Why the Empire Must Strike Back: Only a Programme of 'Enlightened Re-Imperialism' for Europe Can Put Right the Bloody Mess Made of Its Former Colonies in Africa," *London Observer*.

"Liberian massacres have become so commonplace as not even to rate a casual news item. Somalia is a continuing mess, worsened by the absurd recent international antics to rescue it. No one seems to have any idea what might be done about Rwanda and Burundi, where the massacres go on."

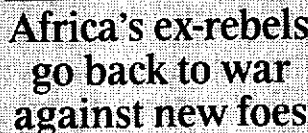
"... The French did not abandon their empire as thoroughly as we did. Their troops are present to maintain order. . . . [R]e-imperialism now begins to make sense again, and the Europeans would be in a good position to push through some sort of international mandate. . . . Now, with much of Africa a bloody mess, we are back to where we were before 'the Scramble of Africa' got under way in the 1880s, but with the difference that the rivalries between the various powers would not take the same proportions as before. . . .

"A hundred years ago, it would have seemed obvious to well-intentioned observers of the African scene that an international mandate should be given to civilized states to intervene in the maintenance of order. What the French have done, with conspicuous success, in their own former African colonies could be done by other European states. Empires do not have to be formal or tyrannical. . . . There are times when they do good, and the post-independence history of Africa shows that this is one of them."

* * * *

November 1, 1996, Editorial, *London Times*.

"Zaire and its wretched African neighbours are all but at war, confronting the world not only with another human disaster but with the prospect that Zaire, the second largest



THE leaders of four African nations have agreed to support a new, broad-based military purge of Africa's armed forces. The co-sponsored effort could reshape the military influence in East and Central Africa and confirm trends in Parts of an "endogenous conspiracy" in the region.

President Museveni of Uganda, who arrived in Rwanda to meet with President Habyarimana of that country, the president of the Independent, which is based on friendship between Africa's two presidents, who have been engaged in conflict and in student days in the 1970s.

Others in the informal summit were President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Vice President and Minister of Defense, who—as a Tutsi refugee in Uganda—was head of the Ugandan military intelligence until 1990. The two new are close friends with their own presidents.

The summit was held in Kigali, Rwanda, under the leadership of the African Liberation Army (SPLA) by John Garang, a former leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) who has been fighting against Khartoum army on the borders with Ethiopia and Sudan. The countries have denied any involvement with the SPLA. But Ethiopia and Sudan have been accused of supporting the SPLA in the past.

An African diplomat in Nairobi said: "There is no doubt that the SPLA is supported by the Eritrean and the Ethiopians. Their help could mean the end of the civil war in Sudan."

It could also hasten the demise of Khartoum's Islamic government, which has been fighting against the SPLA and the Eritrean and Ethiopian groups in the

Only a programme of 'enlightened re-imperialism' from Europe can put right the bloody mess made of its former colonies in Africa, argues Norman Stone

The Observer 29 January 1988

Corporate dogs of war who grow fat amid the anarchy of Africa



M OVERSEAS NEWS

War fears grow as Rwandan troops attack Hutu camps

REVENUE of thousands of dollars yesterday. But

Costs Don't Cover Up Gains

amount to execution. Right

to be kept in storage for the

of 100,000 to 200,000

thousands of dollars

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country in black Africa, may finally disintegrate. The proximate cause is yet another outbreak of ethnic persecution of the Tutsi peoples scattered all over the African Great Lakes region. The deeper cause is three decades of corrupt despotism and chronic maladministration in Zaire, a land which has dived with anarchy ever since its first days of independence in 1960.

“... The West should resist the temptation to blame itself. Certainly, colonial frontiers were drawn that took no account of ethnicity. But this is hindsight made deceptively simple; Zaire contains some 300 ethnic groups, so just where should lines have been drawn? Closer to the mark is the bleak prospectus set out 35 years ago by a young Algerian radical, Franz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth*.

their malignant legacy. . . .

"It may be that salvation for this vast land may eventually lie in the autonomy which Shaba (ex-Katanga, the source of the trouble in 1960) and diamond-rich Kasai already exercise de facto and which the Tutsi rebels in the east are grabbing by armed force. But getting rid of dictators can be even riskier than living under them. . . .

"Meantime, Zaire is a black hole in the heart of Africa, capable of sucking the chronically unstable countries on its borders into the death-agony of its succession struggle. Rwandan troops entered the Zairean town of Goma yesterday. To limit human suffering, the West must find better ways than those it tried after the 1994 Rwandan genocide. First it must try to prevent a regional war. Time is short, the chances slim. Fear of catching the Zaire disease may be the only thing that diplomacy can play upon. In Africa's hate-consumed heart, it is not much of a lever."

* * * *

November 19, 1996: Conor Cruise O'Brien, "This Time, Let Zaire Fall Apart." *London Times*.

O'Brien says that the "Tutsi rebel rout" of the "Hutu extremists" should be "unreservedly welcomed." The issue is now what will happen to the "huge state of Zaire." O'Brien says that Mobutu is "dying and comprehensively discred-



Uganda's Yoweri Museveni is the overseer for British genocide in Africa.

ited," and that only the French are "seeking a restoration of Mobutu's authority over the whole Congo." The French are "looking for British backing" for this, he says, adding that "I hope the British Government will resist any such attempt."

While noting that there are those who want to maintain the unity of the nation, "there are also a great many who simply put up with Zaire, without identifying with it as their nation." "Shaba has always been restive, as an enormously rich province, at once neglected and exploited by a distant Government. Now, Shabans seem bound to claim their independence. Other provinces are already in revolt. Kivu province is already partly controlled by forces allied with the now-victorious Rwandan-allied rebels." He warned against actions to prevent the break-up.

"Zaire's condition now appears to be terminal, and international efforts to preserve its integrity will only increase the agencies of its peoples. It should be allowed to assume such shapes as the energies and aspirations of its various peoples may eventually assign to it. The energies of international diplomacy should be confined to holding the ring, and discouraging the internationalization of the tremendous internal conflict."

[One major lie here, of course, is that the conflict itself was not the result of an invasion from outside the country.—ed.]

* * * *

January 17, 1997: Sam Kiley, "Africa's Ex-Rebels Go Back to War Against New Foes," *London Times*.

"The leaders of four African countries have launched a cross-border military purge of their enemies. The coordinated effort could undermine French influence in East and Central

Africa and confirm fears in Paris of an 'anglophone conspiracy' in the region."

"President [Yoweri] Museveni of Uganda, who arrived in London for a private conference last night, is at the center of the initiative, which is based on friendships between African guerrillas-turned-politicians, forged in conflict and in student digs in the 1970s."

Kiley then cites Rwandan Vice President Paul Kagame, Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki, and Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, who all "brought down dictatorships . . . in the 1980s and 1990s." Now, he claims, "with the enthusiastic backing of the United States and the quiet approval of Britain, they are . . . retaliating against neighboring states which have been harboring rebel groups opposed to them—taking their cue from Washington's frequent demand that 'Africans find solutions to Africa's problems.' They are doing so by, in turn, assisting rebels against the governments of those countries."

Kiley continues: "This week the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) led by John Garang, a longtime colleague of Mr. Museveni and Major-General Kagame, has won remarkable victories against Khartoum's army on the borders with Eritrea and Ethiopia. Both countries have denied any involvement with the SPLA, but Eritrean and Ethiopian officers have been seen commanding SPLA soldiers."

Kiley quotes an unidentified "African diplomat" to the effect that "there is no way that the SPLA are not being supported by the Eritreans and the Ethiopians. Their help could turn around the civil war in Sudan" and lead to the overthrow of the Khartoum regime.

Kiley points out, also, that although Uganda and Rwanda deny involvement in the "uprisings by rebels in eastern

Zaire," the opposite is true: "On the front line, however, soldiers freely admit that they were trained in Rwanda and served in the Rwandan army. Some even spoke only Ugandan languages, such as Acholi."

Kiley comments: "This complex web of overlapping civil wars has resulted in a spread of the English language in Zaire, traditionally an area of French influence." He concludes: "Since French soldiers were forced to surrender Fashoda to the British under Lord Kitchener in 1898, the army and hard-line-elements in the Elysée Palace have been obsessed with the spread of Anglo-Saxon influence in Central Africa. Recent events have reinforced their conspiracy theories."

March 10, 1997: "Weary Zaire Awaiting Its Fate," *Financial Times* of London.

The article said Zaire was about to be cut in two, since the east side "including the diamond-producing province of Kasai, copper-producing Shaba, and gold-rich Kivu, would go to the rebels . . . the west side, holding President Mobutu Sese Seko's East Equateur province and the underdeveloped rural areas, would remain in Kinshasa's control."

The article goes on to claim that this idea stems from a "secret Pentagon plan," a falsehood which relies on the credulous belief of many that the United States—not the British—is behind all colonial looting.

Museveni reveals his Hitlerian plans

April 21, 1997: Elizabeth Tusubira, *The Shariat*, Kampala, Uganda.

Tusubir reported that, opening the East African Law Society General Assembly April 4, Museveni revealed his ambitions to become the British overlord for all of central Africa. "My mission is to see that Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire become federal states under one nation," he said. "It is not a choice now, but a must that East Africa become one nation. Either we become one nation or we perish. If we don't come together, we shall perish as the Red Indians perished."

Museveni then declared: "As Hitler did to bring together Germany, we should also do it here. Hitler was a smart guy, but I think he went a bit too far by wanting to conquer the whole world."

He calmed fears that the United States might not accept his plan: "I know these Americans very well. When I go to them, I talk about regional integration, women emancipation,

and environment protection, and they give me money!"

Museveni said he has stipulated a plan in the national budget by which a road will be built from Mbrara, Uganda, to Kisangani, Zaire, and on to Rwanda. "We here in Uganda believe that Rwanda and Burundi is part of East Africa. For me, I am not concerned with slogans of yours of Anglophone and Francophone; for I am Bantuphone or call me Bachwezi-phone."

May 20, 1997: Sam Kiley, "New Leaders Take Africa's Destiny into Their Own Hands," *London Times*.

"By dint of his victory in Kinshasa, Laurent Kabila has joined a growing firmament of African leaders. . . . Led by President Museveni of Uganda, a clique of African leaders, all men of well-known military prowess who in most cases fought their way into office, made the peacekeeping idea redundant. They have embarked on an ambitious offensive to wipe out the chaos of Central Africa.

"In November last year Washington gave diplomatic support to the mainly Tutsi rebellion in eastern Zaire which grew into a revolution and toppled Mr Mobutu last weekend. As a result French officials saw an 'Anglophone conspiracy' behind Mr Kabila's movement in which Britain supplied the know-how of the imperial era, and Americans the money and military training necessary for the Tutsis to storm across Zaire in only seven months.

"There may be some truth in the conspiracy theory. Among the beneficiaries of Zaire's change of regime have been George Bush, who along with former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, is a member of the advisory board of the Toronto-based Barrick Gold, which bought a gold concession for 80,000 square kilometres in northeast Zaire from the then rebels. Few, if any, French companies have been given access to Zaire's mineral rights.

"But the conspiracy is deeper and more subtle. Mr Museveni's close friend and former comrade in arms, is Major General Paul Kagame, Rwanda's Vice-President and Minister of Defence. . . .

[The article goes on to discuss the alliance of these two with Eritrea's Issias Aferwerki and Ethiopia's Adeles Zenawi, also close friends of Museveni, in the campaign against Sudan—and then the likelihood that Angola's Jonas Savimbi, Nigeria's Sani Abacha, and Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi are also on the "hit list."—ed.]

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The LaRouche movement led the fight to stop African genocide

What follows is a small selection from the LaRouche movement's activity against African genocide over the last nine months. LaRouche and the publications associated with the LaRouche political movement, have been outspoken defenders of the nations and populations of Africa, calling for the high-technology development of the continent, and an end to neo-colonialist Malthusian programs to depopulate Africa, since at least the 1973-74 famine. This effort has included the publication of books, production of economic programs, and airing of TV specials, which featured reports on the IMF's destruction of the continent. These materials are available through EIR and other institutions associated with LaRouche.

* * * *

August 9, 1996: In its *EIR* of this date, the LaRouche movement warns that the just-completed military coup in the nation of Burundi is likely to kick off British Lord Lynda Chalker's scenario in the Central African region, including moves toward establishing a "Tutsi Empire."

August 30, 1996: *EIR* publishes an article highlighting the statements of intention by the British and French, for recolonization of Africa.

October 7, 1996: The *New Federalist* reports on London's new assault against the Rwandan refugees in Zaire, starting with the attack on Bukavu.

October 31, 1996: Helga Zepp LaRouche and her Civil Rights Movement Solidarity (BüSo) party in Germany issue an emergency appeal to President Clinton, to carry out a Berlin-style airlift to deal with the plight of the refugees. This launches an international mobilization by the LaRouche movement. The appeal reads as follows:

"Mr. President:

"The Civil Rights Movement Solidarity from Germany appeals to you to take urgent action to save the lives of 1 million refugees in eastern Zaire. As was the case in Goma in 1994, only resolute action on your part can avert the human catastrophe that is in the making.

"First, an emergency airlift into the region is needed to deliver food and medicine to hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced by the war, which broke out 10 days ago.

"Mr. President, we Germans will never forget, how the

Berlin airlift in 1949 saved the people of an entire city. Now we see with horror, how a million refugees in the heart of Africa will soon be out of food, clean water, and medicine. The dying has already begun. Soon there will be tens of thousands, if nothing is done. Especially in light of the fact that international institutions have again failed to take appropriate action, we appeal to you, as President of the United States of America, to act and order your military to organize such an airlift.

"We trust that you will act. Others may find excuses to explain away their refusal to face the challenge, but America, the country of Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, cannot allow a million Africans to vanish—simply because governments refused to deliver the help which could have saved them.

"Secondly, it is well known that the U.S. government, together with Great Britain, exerts the greatest influence on the governments of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. The war in Zaire is not an 'ethnic war'; in fact, it started as an invasion of forces from Rwanda and Burundi with the support of the government of Uganda, who are playing the ethnic card. We appeal to you, Mr. President, to use the influence of the U.S. government—with or without the consent of the government of Great Britain—to pressure the forces in power in Kampala, Kigali, and Bujumbura, to stop the invasion of Zaire, withdraw their forces, and reestablish the territorial integrity of Zaire. If this is not done, this war could easily spread and engulf the entire region of the Great Lakes, affecting more than 30 million people.

"The rationale offered for the attacks on the refugee camps in Zaire was the search for 'Hutu genocidalists.' While it is true that in the refugee camps, there were people who participated in the murders in Rwanda in 1994, it is not tolerable that a million refugees—80 percent of whom are the elderly, women, and children—be taken hostage for them and starved to death. This would amount to a counter-genocide committed by forces who, in the tragic last years of the conflict in Rwanda and Burundi, have already been guilty of mass killing.

"Mr. President, beyond immediate relief for the humanitarian catastrophe, we appeal to you also to use the weight of your office to help facilitate serious negotiations between the current governments in Rwanda and Burundi, and their opposition forces. This most tragic history of never-ending cycles of violence and mass murder between the Tutsi and Hutu can



November 14, 1996: The Schiller Institute demonstrates at the White House, calling for a U.S. airlift to aid Rwanda refugees in Zaire.

only be broken, if the parties in question are able to negotiate a peaceful common future.

"Mr. President, be assured of our support and appreciation."

November 2, 1997: The BüSo holds a spirited rally in the German capital of Bonn, demanding action against the genocide.

November 4, 1996: The *New Federalist* of this date features a report on the full-scale invasion under way from the British Commonwealth nations, as a coordinated operation against Zaire, Burundi, and Sudan.

November 8, 1996: *EIR* publishes the appeal of the Rally for the Return of Democracy and Refugees (RDR) for international aid. (See page XX.)

November 11, 1996: The *New Federalist* publishes the BüSo call for action, as a front-page appeal.

November 14, 1996: The Schiller Institute holds a rally in front of the White House, demanding emergency action to save the refugees.

November 15, 1996: *EIR* publishes the report by Doctors Without Borders, that more than 1,000 refugees per day are dying, many of them due to the spread of disease, and lack of food and water.

November 18, 1996: The *New Federalist* publishes a lead story "U.S. Must Act to Save Refugees in Zaire," and a special, front-page editorial entitled "Will We Tolerate Genocide?"

LaRouche at Washington seminar: defend Africa

November 19, 1996: At an *EIR* seminar in Washington, D.C., Lyndon LaRouche poses the question of African genocide, as follows: "Africa is a pit of genocide. If three nations go, all of Africa goes. Those are: Nigeria, Sudan, and the Republic of South Africa. Those three states are destabilized, and they're targetted. . . . If those three states go, or even one of them, all of Africa goes into deep genocide. And, it is the intent of the British government and their friends and admirers in the United States government, that that should happen. That Africa should be depopulated; that the existing nations of Africa should be chopped into small pieces, and depopulation should go on."

LaRouche calls for an alternative financial reorganization, based on sovereignty and high-technology economic development.

November 19, 1996: "The LaRouche Connection" cable TV broadcast produces a show for nationwide circulation, featuring an interview with Jacques Bacamurwanko, the former Burundian ambassador to the U.S.A., and is currently the North American coordinator of the National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD).

November 27, 1996: The Schiller Institute begins a series of vigils, which spread to numerous cities around the country, demanding an airlift to Zaire.

December 2, 1996: The Schiller Institute issues a call to clergy to join the mobilization. The call is entitled, "As Goes Africa, So Goes Humanity." It reads:

"Today, a dark, unholy crime is being committed in our world. We must cry out and oppose it. Genocide is being committed before our eyes in East Africa, and no one in our country seems to care. A great man, Archbishop Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabo, of Zaire, gave his life Oct. 30 to warn the world of the evil game being played by the Rwandan, Burundian and Ugandan militaries with the lives of millions.

"The Archbishop was murdered at an emergency session of the Bukavu, Zaire, city council. He is reported to have been beheaded. In addition, the entire city council was also killed by the invading forces. The U.S. press, in imitation of Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, calls such mass murderers 'Rwandan rebels,' and excuses their actions as 'retaliation for genocide.'"

"Just as Hitler invaded Poland, and claimed it was done 'to defend the German people,' so these armies, particularly that of Uganda's Museveni, are being used to let loose the dogs of war on this already-debilitated population. Soon, all the nations of this area may disappear. Incredibly, one Rwandan official has even called for a 'Second Berlin Conference,' referencing the racist colonial division of Africa in 1885. This would only worsen the problem.

"To the contrary, national borders must be protected right now at all costs, or else millions will certainly die. The United States must insist upon this. Our nation must offer, separate from any international force, to work with the Zairean government to preserve the territorial integrity of that nation through logistical support, and food and medicine delivery, in the Eastern provinces. If we do not act immediately, we could see Zaire, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and other nations disappear from the map, just as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and many of the nations of Europe disappeared in the 1930s and early 1940s.

"The U.S. press is participating in African genocide by its deliberate, and continuing, cover-up. Lady Lynda Chalker, head of the British Ministry of Overseas Development and controller of the Ugandan regime, is one of their principal 'disinformation sources.' She has said, 'Of course, when one comes face to face with death . . . in their hundreds, or as in Goma (Zaire) in their thousands, I feel it. But I don't allow it to affect my judgement.' By de-personalizing the conflict, the press manipulates the pleasure-seeking American public to merciless indifference. They sanitize the carnage by referring, not to Rwandan, Burundian or Zairean citizens, but to 'Hutus'—'Hutu refugees,' 'Hutu rebels.' But in reality, it is Bukuru Thomas, Potame Nizigire, Nderzako Jackson, Sendigiya Christian, and hundreds of thousands of others who are miss-

ing. Some, like these, are Burundian parliamentarians, democratically elected and deposed by the illegal July coup. Others are farmers, craftsman, housewives. They are real people, with names, faces, relatives. It is they, not 'the Hutu,' that are being exterminated.

"The dictator Joseph Stalin once observed, 'The death of one man is a tragedy. The death of a million is a statistic.' So, the daily newspapers coldly describe the mass killing, the daily deaths of thousands, and tens of thousands, who are our brothers and sisters, all created in the image of the living God. So, slowly, our merciless indifference condemns us to the extinction of civilization, because 'the best lack all conviction, while the worst are filled with passionate intensity.'

The French, British, Belgians, and elements of the U.S. government, have all turned a blind eye to these mass deaths, rationalizing them as 'tribal warfare,' while we find that over 20 million weapons have been imported and sold in the area by those very same powers. We are told that 'all the refugees are voluntarily returning,' but when the figures are tallied, hundreds of thousands are unaccounted for.

"The United States must immediately dispatch all necessary food aid to this area to keep the refugees—80 percent of whom are women and children—alive. At least 300 human rights observers must be sent to the area to monitor the behavior of the Tutsi-based military regime in Rwanda, as the refugees return, so that there is in fact no further threat of 'ethnic cleansing.' Finally, there must be the adoption, immediately, of a 'Marshall Plan' for the attainment of agricultural self-sufficiency, adequate transportation and health facilities, and industrial development of East Africa, and Africa as a whole. If this is not done, world civilization will have crossed the threshold of decency. It will perish, because its merciless indifference will have proven it morally unfit to survive.

"In this moral vacuum, the church, in all its denominations, must act. All of us, politician, diplomat, soldier, or citizen, must remember the admonition of Christ to his disciples, when they asked of him, 'Lord, when were you hungry and we fed you not? When were you naked and we clothed you not? When were you in need of shelter and we gave you none?' Christ answered: 'Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

Therefore, let us all agree that there be candlelight vigils in our houses of worship each week, and that we call our people to prayer. Let us recognize, that the sin and crime that we find in East Africa, can only be expiated through our rejection of inaction in its wake. Let us not only remember Archbishop Ngabo, and the missing parliamentarians of Burundi, but also the admonition to truly be our brother's keeper: 'For, if not us, who? And if not now, when?'

December 9, 1996: The *New Federalist* headline features the involvement of George Bush and Barrick Gold, in the



April 26, 1997: Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. addresses the Schiller Institute's Peace Through Development in Africa conference in Walluf, Germany.

resource grab in eastern Zaire.

December 17-23, 1996: Lyndon and Helga Zepp LaRouche visit Sudan, meeting with the President and other leaders, including a dozen former rebel leaders.

FDR-PAC seminar on Africa crisis

January 11, 1997: FDR-PAC, the political action committee led by LaRouche, sponsors a meeting in Washington, D.C. on Africa, entitled: "Africa: Looting Ground for 'Bush, Inc.' or Breadbasket for the World?"

Over 100 people attend this forum, which features speeches by former Burundian ambassador to the U.S.A., Jacques Bacamurwanko, as well as Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche presents the Africa crisis as the "moral test for mankind."

January 17, 1997: In his capacity as a former Democratic Presidential candidate, LaRouche issues the following statement:

"The fact of the matter is, that the British Commonwealth, and its monarchy, are presently guilty of organizing both aggressive warfare against the nations of Sudan and Zaire, and, simultaneously, the functionally greatest rate of genocide in modern history against sundry targetted African populations. In fact, there is no factual basis for doubting the monarchy of the United Kingdom has launched and is coordinating aggres-

sive warfare by Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea in the invasion of Sudan, and that Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni is responsible for the invasion and genocide against, first, Rwanda, and now Zaire. A river of blood divides all moral persons in the world from those British and other racists who support or condone these Nuremberg crimes by the British Commonwealth and its United Kingdom-based, British Privy Council. Perfide Albion!"

January 20, 1997: The *New Federalist* runs a banner headline: "LaRouche Says: U.S. Must Find the Morality to Stop African Genocide."

January 25, 1997: FDR-PAC sponsors part II of the forum "Africa: Looting Ground for 'Bush, Inc.' or Breadbasket for the World, in Washington, D.C. Again, over 100 people attend and this time, hear former Ugandan President Godfrey Binaisa, Schiller Institute spokesman Uwe Friesecke, and Lyndon LaRouche discuss the British gameplan to loot Africa.

January 27, 1997: The *New Federalist* publishes an issue with the headline, "Stop London's Wars in Africa," including a feature spread with speeches from the January 11 event.

January 31, 1997: *EIR* features speeches from the January 11 FDR-PAC forum, and headlines the presentation as a "dec-

laration of war" against the British Empire.

February 3, 1997: The *New Federalist* features front-page coverage of the January 25 FDR-PAC forum.

February 3-5, 1997: Representatives of the Schiller Institute confront British marcher-lord and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, at his Washington, D.C. appearances. He is asked about his role in genocide, during his appearance at the Georgetown School of the International Studies, in front of the assembled crowd. Outside his appearance at the National Prayer Breakfast, demonstrators from the Schiller Institute draw attention to his role as a puppet of British Baroness Lady Chalker.

February 7, 1997: The *EIR* features an editorial by Lyndon LaRouche, entitled "Africa: Today's 'Indo-China Quagmire.'" It reads as follows:

"The thing which could sink the present Democratic administration, is certainly not the Hollinger Corporation's 'Paula Jones' side-show. The danger is, President Clinton's second term could be virtually sunk in an Africa quagmire that is shaping up fast to become even worse than the Johnson administration's Vietnam debacle.

"Under the official direction of Overseas Development Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker, and Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords Baroness Caroline Cox, both members of the British monarchy's ruling Privy Council, the British Commonwealth continues its Uganda-based invasion and genocide in Zaire, and has organized the dictators of the current puppet-governments of Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, in a London-directed, raw-materials-grabbing, colonial war in Sudan. The Clinton administration did not launch these ongoing crimes against humanity, the British Commonwealth did; but, unless President Clinton intervenes against 'our ever-loving British imperialist ally,' soon, to force a halt in the British Privy Council's invasions of Zaire and Sudan, the Clinton administration, not the British Commonwealth, will be set up to take the blame for what will become within months, or even weeks, the worst genocide of the 20th century, raging throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

"Already, two leading European allies of the U.S.A., France and Germany, are moving in efforts to halt London's genocide against Black Africa. An important reflection of those continental European allies' break with London on this issue, is an official January 16 resolution voted and proclaimed by the German Parliament, the Bundestag, which has implicitly proposed a halt to the ongoing invasion of Sudan by a mercenary-reinforced, London-organized and -directed alliance of the armed forces of Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. Although the German Parliament's resolution does not address that additional fact, the ongoing genocide against Hutus being conducted inside invaded Zaire, is an integral part of the British Commonwealth forces' imperialist grab for valuable

raw materials assets in eastern Zaire, a military invasion, from Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, run by present dictator of Uganda, President Yoweri Museveni.

"Although President Clinton is not a co-initiator of London's war, genocide, and invasions against Zaire and Sudan, the 'usual list of suspects' among London-allied, corrupt international news media, inside and outside the U.S.A., is setting the Clinton White House up to take the blame for the carnage. The fact is, that former U.S. President (Sir) George Bush is involved, and there is support from a cabal of many from among notable U.S. Republican leaders, such as Reps. Frank Wolf (R-Va.) and Chris Smith (R-N.J.), and Senate Majority Whip Don Nickles (R-Okla.), inside the Congress, in addition to former Virginia candidate for Lt.-Governor, Michael Farris.

"These Republicans are all supporters of an organization, called Christian Solidarity International, headed by the woman personally directing, and even openly funding the British Commonwealth's London-directed military invasion of Sudan, Baroness Cox. Chris Smith's National Christian Breakfast, for example, is a front for this British subversion against the United States, a subversion run from the British monarchy's Privy Council by Baroness Cox and Baroness Chalker.

"More pathetic is the number of rent-my-mouth African-American denotables, such as Dr. Lenora Fulani, Randall Robinson, and others, who are currently deployed to supply propaganda covers for London's current genocide against Black Africa. These black-faced political vaudeville performers, are used to lull credulous liberal Democrats into tolerating London's operations in Africa, and, ultimately to put the political blame on Clinton for operations being pushed inside, and outside, the Congress by leading figures of the opposing, Republican Party.

"The White House's key problem is, that, presently, the U.S. government has virtually no competent intelligence window on sub-Saharan Africa. Except for *EIR* readers, officials rely heavily on lying handouts from British Intelligence channels. What few remaining official information resources the U.S. government has on Africa, have been corrupted savagely by the deeply embedded influence of Sir Henry A. Kissinger's and Sir George Bush's stay-behind networks inside the U.S. intelligence establishment.

"Thus, the genocide in Africa escalates, while nearly everyone in official Washington is even more poorly advised on Africa, than the Congress duped into passing the Tonkin Gulf resolution, over 30 years ago."

February-March 1997: FDR-PAC begins to market an array of videotaped one- and two-hour excerpts of the Africa policy forums.

As of the current writing, over 3,600 Africa policy videos have been purchased, and are in circulation. In addition, FDR-PAC produces at least 100,000 offprints of *The New Federal-*



May 11-May 20, 1997:
The Civil Rights Movement Solidarity in Germany holds a week of rallies and picket lines against the official visit of Rwandan dictator Paul Kagame, to the state of Rhineland-Palatinate.

ist American Almanac sections on the Africa seminar.

February 10, 1997: The *New Federalist* headlines its issue, "LaRouche Warns President Clinton of an African Quagmire."

February 14, 1997: The Civil Rights Movement Solidarity (BüSo) of Germany issues a declaration to the Bonn government, to act to stop the genocide in Zaire, by moving to stop the invasion of foreign forces, and to provide humanitarian aid to the refugees.

February 17, 1997: The *New Federalist* features the speeches from the January 25 FDR-PAC event in its American Almanac section.

February 17-25, 1997: A Schiller Institute delegation travels to Sudan, at the invitation of the Khartoum State Assembly, where it obtains first-hand evidence of the war of aggression being carried out against that nation from Ethiopia, and with the aid of Uganda's Museveni.

March 7, 1997: EIR gives extensive coverage to the reports in the Paris daily *Le Monde* of an eyewitness report on the genocide being carried out against the Rwandan refugees.

New appeal to President Clinton

April 5, 1997: The Schiller Institute issues a new appeal to President Clinton, urging immediate action on the plight

of the refugees. The appeal, which has received hundreds of signatures to date, was drafted by Helga Zepp LaRouche, founder of the Schiller Institute, and Godfrey Binaisa, former President of Uganda, who founded the African Civil Rights Movement in 1995, urging an immediate stop to the genocide in Zaire.

The resolution is amended, and adopted as amended (one abstention), by members of the body assembled on April 5, 1997 at the Riverside Church in New York, to honor the 30th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's speech there against the Vietnam War.

Former government officials and concerned citizens from the nations of Haiti, Burundi, Nigeria, Liberia, Togo, Pakistan, Zaire, and El Salvador, also support the resolution.

A committee of the African Civil Rights Movement determines, at the close of the event, to circulate the resolution for signatures.

The text follows:

"Mr. President:

"Numerous sources, including UNICEF, the Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders, and others, have now confirmed with indisputable evidence, what must have been known to all major world powers for some time: that the fastest rate of genocide of this century is now ongoing in the Great Lakes Region in Africa, and that this mass murder is being committed by the military forces of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, that invaded Zaire in October 1996.

"Laurent Désiré Kabila is but the mercenary pawn of Yoweri Museveni, dictator of Uganda, who is himself a pup-

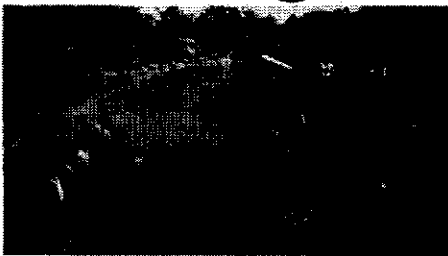
SPECIAL ISSUE!
STOP BRITISH GENOCIDE IN AFRICA

THE NEW FEDERALIST

Kabila's Takeover Is a Victory for Bloody British Looting

[illegible]

Never Again!



EDITORIAL

and continued work in developing and expanding the program. The program is now being implemented in 10 states and is expected to be implemented in 15 states by the end of 1990. The program is a joint effort of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the National Transportation Builders Association. The program is a joint effort of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the National Transportation Builders Association. The program is a joint effort of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the National Transportation Builders Association.

May 26, 1997: *The newspaper of the LaRouche movement, New Federalist, mobilizes to defeat British genocide in Africa. The photograph shows Rwandan refugees being herded into boxcars in early May.*

pet of London and the British Commonwealth, specifically of Lady Lynda Chalker, British Minister of Overseas Development. Already, 2 million refugees have been massacred; 1 million children under one year of age have died; 700,000 more children are presently in mortal danger.

"Mr. President, we urgently appeal to you to force the international institutions to halt this genocide, and to save the lives of these people. If the U.S. can send 1,200 Marines to evacuate 400 Americans, surely we must act when the lives of over 1 million women and children are in jeopardy.

"We call on you to end the cover-up portrayal of the mercenary Kabila as some kind of 'rebel leader' who somehow has access to satellite photos for his attacks on the Zairean Army, and the refugees. President Clinton, we urge you to use the power of your office to investigate the war criminals, and particularly the aggressors who started it all, like Museveni, Kagame, and Buyoya. These are the new Hitlers of Africa, who must be stopped before it is too late. Their backers,

the big American and British corporations, such as Barrick Gold and Anglo American, must also be exposed and stopped now."

April 18, 1997: *EIR* once again features on its cover the need for a mobilization against African genocide. It includes speeches from Helga Zepp LaRouche, Godfrey Binaisa, and *EIR*'s Africa editor, Linda de Hovos.

April 26-27, 1997: The Schiller Institute, *EIR*, and the Forum for Freedom and Democracy (in Bonn) sponsor a seminar on "Peace Through Development in the Great Lakes Region of Africa," which draws together a few dozen leaders from that region, to discuss with Lyndon and Helga Zepp LaRouche. Participants and *EIR* plan to release the full proceedings from this seminar in early summer 1997.

April 28, 1997: The Civil Rights Movement Solidarity of Germany issues a release on the “Scandalous Inaction of the Federal Government on the Genocide of Hutu Refugees in Zaire.”

May 2, 1997: Hartmut Cramer, of the Civil Rights Movement Solidarity, releases an Open Letter to the members of the Green parliamentary faction in the Bonn government, demanding that they support the victims, not the perpetrators of genocide in Zaire. The letter particularly excoriates the support given by parliamentarians Uschi Eid and Wolfgang Schmidt to the Kabila Alliance, through their discussions with him, and demands that the Green caucus of Parliament review their stance.

May 11-May 20, 1997: The Civil Rights Movement Solidarity holds a week of rallies and picket lines against the official visit of Rwanda dictator Paul Kagame, to the state of Rhineland-Palatinate. An open letter to the state Governor Beck is circulated, documenting the crimes of genocide by Kagame's army against Rwandan refugees. While the official visit went ahead, it did not occur as planned, since Rwandan Vice President Kagame had become a public embarrassment. The Civil Rights Movement Solidarity was told, after his departure, that its charges of genocide were raised with the visitor and his entourage, both in Bonn and in the state capital, Mainz.

PART 2

Genocide in Africa: Some of the truth comes out

A holocaust is reported in the world's press

The following are excerpts from articles appearing in the world's press on the genocide of the Rwandan and Hutu refugees and also displaced Zaireans in eastern Zaire since November 4, 1996. The articles are listed in reverse chronological order. What began as a mere trickle of news out of East Africa has turned into a flood of explicit and horrible reports on the destruction of human life, making it impossible for any responsible government or moral individual to ignore this crisis.

This chronology does not include reports from aid agencies, some of which, like Amnesty International, Refugees International, and Doctors Without Borders, have consistently reported on atrocities carried out by the combined "Tutsi legions" organized by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni from Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Zaire. Excerpts from these reports begin on page 34.

June 1, 1997. Colin Nickerson, "Refugee Massacre Unfolds in Congo," *Boston Globe*.

"The reek of death hangs heavily along the red dirt road running from Mbandaka to Wendjie. Human ribs jut from a stagnant bog. A corpse floats face down in a stream. The body of a little girl lies curled beside the bamboo thicket that provided her last shelter. Someone loved her enough to cover her face with a tattered piece of cloth.

"In early May, the first Hutu refugees from Rwanda started streaming from the immense equatorial forest into this dilapidated port on the Congo River [Mbandaka]. Soon there were thousands.

"They had slogged nearly 1,000 miles on foot from the Rwandan border, a hellish passage lasting seven months through some of earth's most treacherous wilderness. They were fleeing the rebel troops of Laurent Desiré Kabila. . . .

"The great river marked the end of hope. A few hundred refugees hired or stole dugout canoes to carry them across the mighty flow. Most, however, were so famished, sick, or crippled they could only hunker down to await their fate.

"The fate arrived swiftly.

"On May 13, hundreds of unarmed men, women, and children were clubbed, bayoneted, or shot to death by Kabila's forces, according to European missionaries, local Red Cross workers, and villagers who either witnessed the slaughter or

helped bury the victims.

"Most of the bodies were dumped into the river, but at least 140 victims were buried in mass graves near Wendjie, a crossroads settlement about 12 miles south of Kisangani.

" 'These were broken people, many could barely walk,' said a Flemish priest who has lived and worked in the region for 30 years. 'I don't know what their sins were. Some were bad men, certainly. But also they were humans who had suffered.'

"The massacre of the refugees was an example of what many Western relief workers and UN officials suspect is occurring on a large scale in areas controlled by Kabila's Alliance for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire. Most alliance soldiers are Tutsi, bitter ethnic rivals of the Hutu who fled Rwanda.

" 'The alliance fighters told us they only killed former soldiers guilty of murdering many Tutsi people in Rwanda,' said a Red Cross worker, who led a *Boston Globe* reporter to one of the gravesites. 'Yet with my own hands I buried small children whose heads were crushed by rifle butts. Buried those poor little ones and women, too.'

" . . . Every war has its atrocities, and the killings at Mbandaka and Wendjie—the first slayings independently verified by Western journalists—might represent only an isolated horror perpetuated by ill-disciplined troops.

"But it seems a stronger possibility that the massacre was calculated. Local Red Cross workers, missionaries, and others with no motive for disparaging the Kabila forces gave consistent accounts of refugees being forced to kneel in ranks on the riverside quay before being systematically shot or bludgeoned to death.

" 'This was like something planned, not a spontaneous spasm,' a Belgian missionary said. 'The soldiers acted as if they were just doing their job, following orders. They didn't seem out of control.'

"Meanwhile, Western diplomats, UN officials, and workers for major relief organizations are increasingly fearful that an organized campaign of killings is occurring in hinterlands where the military has encircled tens of thousands of refugees. Alliance troops have declared many of these zones off-limits to aid workers, blocking convoys of medicine, food, and other help meant for the estimated 270,000 Rwandan refugees trapped in Congo. . . ."

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June 1, 1997. Donald G. McNeil, Jr., "In Congo, Forbidding Terrain Hides a Calamity," *New York Times*.

"From inside the huge C-130 and Ilyushin cargo planes that are ferrying refugees home to Rwanda from Congo, it's easy to see how 220,000 people could just disappear in this country's interior.

"Below, as far as the eye can see in every direction, is jungle. What roads there are are dirt ruts, and the landscape is laced with wide tributaries of the Congo River.

"Down in the jungle itself, the terrain is even scarier. Mere grass is eight feet tall. Above it towers bamboo that looks like explosions frozen in time—hundreds of thick stalks shooting out of a central crater, the fronds leafing out 30 feet above to darken the forest floor.

"The fate of the Rwandan Hutu refugees in Congo, formerly Zaire, is a cloud over the country's new government and its president, Laurent Kabila.

"Last month he ousted Zaire's dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, with the help of Tutsi-led regimes in neighboring Rwanda and Uganda. The Tutsis are hostile to the Hutus in Congo as a result of one of the world's worst instances of genocide in recent decades: In 1994, egged on by their leaders, Hutus in Rwanda massacred hundreds of thousands of Tutsis before a Tutsi army in exile in Uganda invaded, ousted the Hutu-led Rwandan government and chased more than a million Hutus, guilty and innocent, into exile in eastern Zaire.

"Now it is believed that Rwandan army units, with the assent of Kabila's forces, are settling scores in the new Congo.

"Forbidding terrain is helping to perpetuate this cycle of genocide. It is cloaking the work of the killers and hiding the victims from the eyes of the world. . . .

"Last October, the refugees were not in desperate shape. For two years, they had been housed in tents and fed by United Nations relief workers on the lava plains in the shadow of Kivu's volcanoes. . . .

"When they were attacked, about 700,000 refugees streamed east, back into Rwanda.

"The rest ran west. The common assumption that only those culpable in the 1994 massacre did so is a fallacy, said Pierce Gerety, a regional humanitarian coordinator for the United Nations. He said the camps at the north end of Lake Kivu were outflanked by invaders from Rwanda who then doubled back to attack, driving the refugees east.

"The southern camps, by contrast, were hit from the south, and the only exit was a road going northwest, eventually entering the jungle. . . .

"Exactly what went on in central Zaire between the initial invasion and the fall of Kinshasa remains largely untold. Because the roads were so decayed from 30 years of Mobutu's misrule, Kabila's rebel army advanced more like a medieval crusade than a modern blitzkrieg.

"The flotilla of refugees surged around it in the face of its advance, sometimes in front of the battle lines, sometimes

behind. Refugees describe being trapped by rivers and begging or bartering their way across on ferries or even dugout canoes. They describe troops rushing into their impromptu camps, shooting, forcing them to flee into the bush. [One refugee named] Simbizi said during one such attack he lost two of his five children in the confusion.

"In some areas, notably on the roads west of Goma and in Biaro and Kasese camps near Kilometer 42, south of Kisan-gani, Rwandan Tutsi alliance troops are accused of methodically massacring refugees, including women and children, and burning the bodies. . . ."

'Reports of mass killings in Congo'

May 22, 1997. Donald G. McNeil, Jr., "Reports Point to Mass Killing of Refugees in Congo," *New York Times*.

"Since the middle of last month, no outsider has been allowed down the six miles of jungle road that begin at a roadblock manned by soldiers at Kilometer 42 south of here. But a growing number of accounts emerging from that zone suggest some form of systematic killing of refugees and disposal of the evidence has been taking place there. . . .

"The accounts come from refugees who have emerged from the jungle, from aid workers who deal with the victims, from Congolese who live nearby, from a disaffected Congolese soldier who says he worked in the zone, and from aid workers who saw a military unit move into the area. All of the more than 25 people interviewed refused to be identified or to have their aid agencies identified for fear of retribution. . . .

"'They march them down the road—yes, children and mothers, too,' said a terrified 34-year-old man in the Biaro camp, just south of here. He said he had heard from other refugees what had happened. 'They kill them, and then at Kilometer 52 they mix corpses together and make fire with them. . . .'

"One reason the accounts are now emerging is that the soldiers operating in the zone have needed the help of local people to carry out their work. Local people say they have been dragooned to work south of Kilometer 42, carrying bodies, driving trucks or digging graves.

"Witnesses have reported the arrival of a well-drilled and heavily armed military unit in the days before the jungle area was sealed off. Second-hand accounts report killings and funeral pyres deep in the rain forest, and soldiers carrying off bags of human ashes. . . .

"At least one former Zairean soldier who worked in the zone said about 30 refugees are still being killed each day as they emerge from hiding places in the forest.

"According to refugees and aid workers who have talked to survivors and to local Congolese soldiers who say they have helped bury the bodies, groups of refugees are being waylaid as they stumble up the road toward a United Nations airlift that would be their salvation. The men are tied up, made to kneel, and then strangled or hacked to death as

others watch, they say. Sometimes women and children are killed too, and sometimes the children are released to go up the road—this time alone, they say.

"Beyond Kilometer 42, there are reports of burial pits from which the bodies from earlier killings are being dug up and burned. Soldiers and local Congolese civilians who have trucked in wood and gasoline say there is an open-air crematorium beside a quarry at Kilometer 52.

"According to the Associated Press, a disaffected soldier from Mr. Kabila's forces who said he killed no one but helped remove bodies described how the ashes of the burned bodies are shoveled into white bags and stored to be dumped into rivers later. The soldiers operating south of Kilometer 42 are under great pressure to hurry before outsiders gain access to the area, said the soldier, who said he had volunteered the information because he had grown disgusted with the killings.

"When the UN eventually comes to investigate, there will be no evidence left," the AP quoted him as saying.

"The soldier told the AP that he had seen killings himself, including 43 refugees who were hacked to death one by one. . . .

"The soldier also provided the AP with a detailed map of the 10-kilometer stretch, purporting to show where mass graves are, a cremation area where bodies are piled on gasoline-soaked wood and burned on pyres, and houses where the ashes are stored.

"The soldier told AP that between 200 and 600 people slain by Mr. Kabila's troops were buried there.

"A *New York Times* and an AP reporter and a diplomat who entered an area to which the United Nations has access found one set of what appeared to be graves—seven earth-covered pits about 10 feet by 10 feet each with clothes and identity cards scattered nearby and a cross made of sticks wired together. The reporters and several diplomats also tried to reach a house where the map said bags of crematorium ashes were stored, but were stopped by the village chief, who said it was a military base and off limits.

"There is no way to know how many people may have been killed. The United Nations estimates that 40,000 refugees are still missing in the area. They are part of an estimated 80,000 refugees who scattered into the forest from two camps, Biaro and Kasese, south of here, after being attacked by local villagers and rebel soldiers on April 22.

"Some are presumably still hiding in the jungle. About 6,000 who had been lying on the ground, too sick from cholera and diarrhea to walk, had simply vanished, relief workers said, after the workers were allowed back into the camps later in April.

"Local Red Cross workers who said they had witnessed killings at Kasese on April 22 told a diplomat that Tutsi soldiers had buried bodies behind the abandoned camp with the help of a bulldozer that had been rented by the United Nations to smooth roads and dig latrines. But journalists

and relief workers who tried to find that grave were stopped by the sound of gunshots. . . .

"Hutu survivors and local people say the soldiers operating south of Kilometer 42 are from a unit of 200 to 400 soldiers who landed at Kisangani Airport on April 17 and moved through the city, across the river, and down the road to the south. . . .

"Among the refugees, there are armed former Hutu guerrillas who could be considered a legitimate military target. But a refugee from Burundi, which also has several thousand refugees in Congo, said the unit did not limit itself to that mission. It drove through the refugee camps, taunting the crowds that they were going to kill them. 'They were Tutsi,' he said. 'Some from Rwanda, some from Uganda, some from Burundi that we recognized.'

"On April 22, the whole road south of Kisangani was closed. When it reopened two days later, the two huge refugee camps were empty. Slowly, wounded refugees emerged from the forests, telling stories of being machine-gunned by uniformed soldiers and hacked at by local villagers. . . .

"Here in Kisangani, a remnant of the unit is said to have remained behind to waylay remaining refugees who might straggle up the road. The refugees said they did not feel safe even when they were inside Kisangani itself at the camp near the airport. 'The soldiers at the gate whisper, "You think you got away, but we'll get you in Rwanda,"' one refugee said. . . .

"Not all of the villagers in the area have been hostile to the refugees. . . .

"I was crying because of some dead babies on the ground—that these little ones should die,' said There Mbuya, a worker at the transit camp in the city, 'and the soldiers said to me, "Mama, why do you cry? Don't you know they are snakes? Maybe they will kill you tonight.' "

'Massacre of refugees in East Zaire'

May 14, 1997. Axel Buyse, "Diplomats Claim Kigali Incites Rebels to Kill Hutu Refugees," *Groot Bijgaarden De Standaard*.

"Under the supervision of the Rwandan Government the rebels of Kabila's Alliance are causing a large-scale massacre among Rwandan refugees in East Zaire. Aid workers are used as a bait to lure the refugees out of their hiding places. This was reported by reliable Western diplomats in Kinshasa. The news is confirmed by other reports. The situation keeps deteriorating for the Rwandan Hutu refugees staying behind in Eastern Zaire. Unanimous sources report that they are being chased mercilessly under the supervision of representatives from the Rwandan Government in Kisangani, in the conviction that all those who stayed behind, are accessory to the 1994 genocide. They have no mercy for women nor children. The local Zairean population is being heavily intimidated not to protect any Hutus. Sometimes, Zaireans are put under heavy pressure to take part in the killings. All traces of the

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1997

CHASING THE ACCUSED



Angry civilians in Kinshasa chase a man accused of being a member of ousted president Mobutu's presidential guard. They tried to put a fire around his neck and burn him alive, but he escaped. Euphoria grips the city, but vengeance killings continue. Story on Page A16.

Sparse U.S. press coverage of the fighting and mass death in East Africa included this May 20, 1997 front-page picture caption in the Washington Post. The photo depicts sympathizers of warlord Laurent Kabila attempting to "necklace" and burn a man accused of being a follower of ousted President Mobutu.

massacres are being erased.

"The accusation that the rebels use aid workers as a 'bait' to lure the refugees out of their hiding places is particularly serious. Officials within the 'Alliance' inform them about the presumable presence of refugees in an area. As soon as the aid workers descend on the area, the refugees turn up. Shortly after that, the aid workers are refused access to the area, after which the refugees vanish 'into thin air.'

"In at least one case, a battalion of the Angolan Government Army was ordered to 'eliminate' such a concentration of Hutu refugees in the vicinity of Kisangani.

"Last week, a UN commission of inquiry did not get permission from Alliance leader Laurent Kabila to verify the reports about massacres in Eastern Zaire. Yesterday, Paris sounded the alarm about mass murders the Alliance was committing in the city of Mbandaka."

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May 5, 1997. Jon Swain, "Killing Fields of Kisangani: Rwandan Troops Join Kabila's Rebels in Massacre of Hutus," London *Sunday Times*.

The article says that the road out of the rain forest via which Rwandan refugees, "with skeleton-like bodies," were emerging, should be named "the Road to Hell." Refugees "have lived through a nightmare, survivors of a series of massacres perpetrated by soldiers loyal to Laurent Kabila . . . with the participation of Rwandan regular forces. . . . Kabila's soldiers encouraged or intimidated local Zairean villagers along the road, to join in the orgy of killing. . . . Some degree of Rwandan army participation in these killings seems certain. . . . Last week, as the full scale of the horror emerged, there were credible reports in Kisangani, that Rwandan units had arrived in force, the night before the massacres. People spoke

of well-disciplined soldiers wearing the same clean uniforms as the Rwandan army, crossing the Congo River and heading for the camps. By contrast, Kabila's rebels wear an assortment of tattered uniforms.

"United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan's accusation that a policy of 'slow extermination' is being carried out accurately conveys the cruelty inflicted on thousands of weak and defenseless human beings."

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April 30, 1997. David Orr, "Aid Staff Catalogue 'Barbarities' of Zaire Rebel Forces," London *Times*.

"As rebels in Zaire push towards Kinshasa, the capital, details are emerging of alleged human rights violations in areas they control. Until now crimes of murder, rape and looting have long been blamed on the ill-disciplined Zairean Army. Allegations of atrocities by rebels have been few.

"The lengthening list of barbarities ascribed to Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire is revealed in two confidential aid agency reports obtained by *The Times*. So sensitive are the contents and so fearful are the organisations of rebel recrimination against field staff, it is not possible to quote at length from the reports.

"Those suffering most at rebel hands are Rwandan refugees unable or unwilling to return to the homeland from which they fled after the 1994 genocide. However, there are also numerous allegations of atrocities against Zairean civilians.

"The confidential reports allege that crimes against both Rwandan refugees and Zairean civilians started long before concerns arose over the fate of tens of thousands of refugees still missing in the forests near Kisangani. The information, gathered on aid agency missions in eastern Zaire, points to a systematic campaign of extermination of refugees and of intimidation of Zaireans in rebel territory.

"Mr. Kabila has dismissed allegations that his fighters have slaughtered large numbers of the Rwandan refugees.

"However, one agency document obtained by *The Times* refers to indications that "serious violations" of human rights laws have taken—and are taking—place in areas the rebels control. Testimony of the military killings was gathered from expatriates working in Zaire and from villagers, many visibly scared of the rebels, who are said to have initially targeted men before recently including women and children.

"Military commanders and members of a secret service body recently established by the rebels told the aid agency mission that they went into the rainforest to look for refugees. They needed the agencies as bait to entice them to open roads for elimination.

"Most refugees returned to Rwanda last year, but some moved deeper into Zaire's interior ahead of the advancing rebels. Among them are said to be a hard core of Hutu militiamen who took part in Rwanda's genocide.

"Local people in the Shabunda area visited by the aid agency are said to suffer rebel intimidation and threats. One

report says villagers have been told not to help refugees. The intimidation campaign was reportedly stepped up after an 'ideological seminar' in Shabunda in March, which all regional community chiefs were obliged to attend. The mission collected evidence that Zaireans who then sheltered refugees were killed.

"The military have a very clear, well defined and systematic mission of 'cleaning' the area,' says another report by a British aid agency. This also gives details of massacres of Zairean civilians and Rwandan refugees."

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April 30, 1997. Sam Kiley, "Abducted Children 'Taken for Slaughter,'" *Times* of London.

"Hutu children close to starvation were slung into the back of a lorry 'like sacks of potatoes' and abducted by Tutsi soldiers in eastern Zaire, United Nations officials said yesterday, as fears grew that the youngsters had been slaughtered.

"Sources at the United Nations Children's Fund and other agencies connected with the Lwiro children's hospital, said the Tutsi soldiers fired into the air, beat up two nurses, abducted 50 children and 60 adults, and drove off in a lorry, threatening that they would be back. 'Some of the soldiers said that the young [Rwandan] Hutu refugees would grow up to be killers and that they should therefore die,' one relief worker said, quoting a witness in the small town close to Bukavu, in South Kivu province.

"Another source said that the toddlers—close to death as a result of malnutrition after seven months on an aimless trek through Zaire's jungles ahead of the Tutsi advance—were thrown into the lorry 'like sacks of potatoes.'

"They will not live long without expert medical care,' said a relief worker associated with the hospital.

"The children have not been seen since they were abducted last week and most aid workers said that they feared the worst.

"There have been reports that they may have been killed,' Pamela O'Toole, a spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said."

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Late April, 1997. "Zairian Rebels Drive Refugees into Starvation," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Germany.

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April 10, 1997. "Doctor Describes Poor Condition of Rwandan Refugees," Veronique Kiesel, Brussels' *Le Soir*.

"Eric Goemaere, director general of Doctors Without Borders in Belgium, has witnessed a lot in his time as an aid worker, but when he soberly speaks of the suffering of Rwandan refugees stuck on the outskirts of Kisangani, whose repatriation to Rwanda is only now beginning to be organized, after five months of suffering, it is impossible to listen without a shudder.

"There are 80,000 of them, squeezed into three temporary 'camps' along the road into Kisangani from the south," explains Dr. Goemaere, who returned from Zaire April 6. 'Most of them come from the Bukavu region, which they left when fighting broke out in November. [They] . . . have been on the move ever since, on foot. They crossed mountains rising up to 3,000 meters, forests, and the river. They traveled 600 kilometers, like a comet: The strongest in front, the weakest behind, and those who could not longer follow, the old or sick children, were abandoned to a certain death. Twenty times they had to move in the middle of the night, leave the place where they had temporarily set up camp, collect their few possessions, and take to the road again. In order to flee the advancing forces of the rebel AFDL. Exhausted, they decided to head for Kisangani, with a white flag, in order to receive aid. But they came to a road block, a military camp, a few kilometers outside Kisangani. The AFDL soldiers refused to let them pass and ordered them back the way they had come, allowing them just 24 hours to rest. We arrived then, on Easter Day, and we obtained another 24 hours for them. The strongest then left for the south, but 850 remained, exhausted, lying on the ground.

"When the soldiers ordered the refugees to leave to the south, the weakest were unable to obey. Of the 850 people who remained lying on the ground, we counted 50 dead, and we organized the transport by truck of the 800 survivors. Several dozen of them were in such a bad way that they were dead on arrival, despite the perfusions. But if they had stayed there facing the soldiers, they would probably have been killed.

"These refugees are in a state of total exhaustion. They have received no food since they fled Tingi-Tingi several weeks ago. The Zairean population is very hostile and they drive them away before they can pillage their fields. They feed on leaves, their feet are swollen, and the slightest scratch develops into a deep wound, penetrating to the bone. When we hand out protein-rich biscuits, the strongest fight for them. I have seen dozens of exhausted men and women crawling along the ground to try and reach a distribution point, to try and get the biscuit which will allow them to survive until the next day. Their eyes were filled with the fear of death, and most of them did not get a biscuit, because it was chaos. If a child of 10 remains alone, with no adult to look after him, he dies.

"I saw the anguished look of five children, the oldest just eight years old, when their mother died of malaria despite the perfusions we were giving her. Those are images you never forget. There were about a 150 deaths a day, and in the morning, when it had rained, we found bodies caked in mud and did not know whether they were dead or alive."

'Refugees fleeing Kisangani dying fast'

April 2, 1997. "UNHCR Says Rwandan Refugees Fleeing Kisangani Dying Fast," Agence France Presse, Paris.

"Rwandan Hutus fleeing Zairean rebel-held Kisangani are dying in large numbers of hunger, exhaustion, or disease, the

UN refugee agency said Wednesday.

"Of some 800 refugees seen by AFP Friday at about the halfway point between Kisangani and Ubundu, 'half are dead. About 400 are left,' said Peter Kessler, Nairobi spokesman for the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR).

"An estimated 100,000 refugees are wandering between Kisangani, which was captured by the rebels on March 15, and Ubundu, he said. Kessler said the situation at Kilometer 82, where AFP saw the group of about 800 emaciated refugees last week, was 'the most dramatic' along the 150-kilometer (90-mile) road."

April 1, 1997. "Rebels Oppose Refugee Camp Near Kisangani; Refugees Dying," AFP, Paris.

"Zairean rebels oppose a new refugee camp near Kisangani and are driving the refugees further south in inhuman conditions, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said Tuesday. UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said the camp had been set up 19 kilometers (12 miles) from Kisangani to shelter some 20,000 Rwandan Hutu refugees who had been staying in nearby Lula.

"The eventual plan was to transfer the refugees from the new camp to the eastern town of Goma or send them home to Rwanda.

"However, Kessler said, the rebels had rejected the idea and the refugees have been forced to head south, back toward Ubundu, the town they had left the previous week.

"The refugees are dying in inhuman conditions, he said.

"During clean-up operations in Lula, where only 700 people remained as of late Monday, humanitarian personnel discovered 50 bodies.

"Kessler said that unaccompanied children aged less than five years, initially taken in by refugees who were themselves starving or ill, had now been left to their own devices, and were dying.

"In other camps where only a few hundred refugees remain, such as Tingi-Tingi and Amisi, southeast of Kisangani, he said the mortality rate was 'catastrophic' and that the situation was probably similar in the Ubundu region.

"An estimated 100,000 refugees are wandering between Ubundu and Kisangani, which was captured by the rebels on March 15, he said.

"A World Food Programme spokeswoman said in Geneva on Monday that a WFP worker had seen the bodies of "hundreds" of dead Rwandan refugees littered along roads during an aerial reconnaissance mission over eastern Zaire. . . ."

March 24, 1997. "Refugees Feel Abandoned; Seek Protection," Brussels' *De Morgen*.

"Hutu refugees who are too weak to escape from the camps in East Zaire, are dying from illness and hunger. After a visit to the camps of Tingi-Tingi and Amisi, UNHCR repre-

sentative Craig Saunders said that within a matter of a few days, 35 out of every 1,000 refugees staying behind have died. . . . Belgian doctor Katia Van Egmont from the aid organization Doctor Without Borders has just returned from the region. Until the exodus from Tingi-Tingi early March, she was staying there with some 100,000 refugees. . . . She had but one word for the humanitarian situation: 'dramatic.' [Van Egmont said that] due 'to the presence of a few "genocidaires" among the refugees, i.e., perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, their situation is being ignored by the international community. However, the actual Hutu militias have separated from the population from the very outset. The refugees have been abandoned. They know they will die from malnutrition and disease. In two months' time, we have counted 1,574 dead, half of whom were children less than five years old. It is unacceptable that no one wanted to believe this at first, and that almost no one is willing to protect them now.' "

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February 26, 1997. "Rwandese Hutu Refugees Were Massacred in Eastern Zaire," *Le Monde*.

"Contradicting HCR [the UN High Commission on Refugees] statements and those repeatedly made by the Kigali government, a document transmitted to the UN Security Council members, to Amnesty International and to the Belgian government says most of the Rwandese refugees in Zaire have not gone back to Rwanda. This document, written by a Western witness just returned from Kivu, where he lived for four years, points out the 'systemic will of the Tutsi rebels to finish off Hutu refugees.' This witness, who must remain anonymous for security reasons, says that 'several hundred thousand refugees are already dead, most were massacred or were victims of hunger, exhaustion, or disease.' He went back to some camps that he already knew well, after the refugees had fled and, guided by escapees, visited places where he ascertained the existence of mass graves. He also reports the stories of a great many refugees denouncing massacres committed by the 'rebels.' . . .

" 'Calling every Hutu refugee a "genocidalist" is tantamount to legitimizing, in the eyes of international opinion and also the rebels, the use of force, or worse, the elimination of these refugees,' says the author of the document, who then explains that 'the number of mass graves betrays a systemic will to finish off the refugees. . . . These mass graves are everywhere, always hidden and very difficult to reach. It is dangerous to be surprised by the rebels in these zones; it means immediate execution.' He lists up his findings:

" 'Above Mugunga, at one and a half hour's walking distance, I saw three graves with 10, 12, and 30 bodies. They were men, women, some with a baby on their back, old people. They all had been shot in the head, including the infants.' . . .

" 'On the lava plain, behind the Ktali and Kahindo camps, towards the West, one can see thousands of skeletons.' "

"The bodies were piled knee high"

November 21, 1996. "Zaire Rebels Detain Hutu, Refugees Say," *New York Times*.

"Zairean rebels are separating young Rwandan Hutu men from crowds of returning refugees, other refugees said today as they arrived in Goma by the busload. Nothing was known about the fate of the young men.

"Only women, children, and old people climbed off the rickety buses and trucks arrived here after a six-mile ride from Sake and the sprawling refugee camp at Mugunga. The rebels, who control a swath of eastern Zaire, refused to let journalists and aid workers out of Goma to look into what was happening to the men. . . .

"Some refugees said the rebels were segregating young men whom they suspected of being part of the Rwandan Hutu militia. United Nations workers said they had also received reports that young men are being detained by the rebels. . . .

"Rwanda says virtually all Rwandan refugees have returned home but aid agencies insist that hundreds of thousands are dispersed in eastern Zaire, particularly at the south end of Lake Kivu."

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November 16, 1996. Scott Strauss, "Refugees Flood Out of Camp," *Houston Chronicle*.

" . . . Most of the refugees leaving Mugunga [refugee camp] appeared in good health. Many said they had not eaten for days, but they did not show signs of extreme hunger. . . . However, in one corner [of the abandoned] camp, near where the rebels had attacked, lay the bodies of about 25 women and children, including a girl who looked to be about 3 months old when she died. The bodies were piled up knee-high, making it difficult to determine how they died.

"But some had machete wounds on their heads. One woman's skull had been cracked open. Her brain lay spilled out on the ground and covered with flies. There was no one around to say who her killers were."

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November 12, 1996. Commentary by Scott Campbell, "Mustn't Turn Our Backs on Genocide in Africa," *Houston Chronicle*.

"Hope for a solution involving the long-awaited repatriation of refugees to Rwanda seems even more absurd now than when such appeals were first made two years ago. Refugees who had fled the camp in Kibumba told me last week that Rwandan soldiers had attacked them with mortar and machine guns. How can we expect refugees to flee into the hands of the army that is shooting at them?"

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November 11, 1996. Scott Strauss, "Rwandans Invade Zaire in Reprisal for Shelling of Town," *Houston Chronicle*.

"Troops in Rwandan army uniforms were seen in the cen-

ter of Goma. . . . Rwandan officials publicly assert that they want the refugees to return home, but only after the genocidal killers are separated and detained. But experienced observers in Rwanda wonder if the government indeed wants a huge influx of people in its already densely populated land.

"Now the refugee camps are broken. They were deliberately targeted during the fighting over the last two weeks."

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November 11, 1996. Anne McIlroy, "Forest Full of Dying, Refugees Say," *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

"Exhausted refugees who have made it across the border from Zaire hold little hope anyone can save thousands now dying in the forest, including the wives, husbands, and children they lost track of when their camps were attacked.

"If you go into the forest, you would see many cadavers and many people who have only two or three hours to live," said François Mubinyuza, a 31-year-old former electrician who walked across the Rwandan border today. "They can't even walk five meters. They are too weak to make it to the border."

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November 9, 1996. Scott Strauss, "Fighting Closes in on Zaire Refugees," *Houston Chronicle*.

"Explosions from renewed fighting near the world's largest camp of refugees echoed over eight miles Friday as a doctor told of women giving birth on bare ground and children bleeding from cholera.

"An attack on the refugee camp is imminent, said Goma residents with rebel friends.

"On Friday, a column of about 120 Zairean rebels was marching out to the front line, on the edge of the camp called Mugunga. They walked in silence, carrying their weapons and provisions on their heads. They wrapped belts of bullets around their rifles and slung rocket-propelled grenade launchers over their shoulders.

"Intermittent blasts believed from mortar shells were heard Friday from the direction of Mugunga, but no sustained

fighting was evident between the ex-Rwandan soldiers controlling the refugees and the Zairean rebels opposing those in the camp suspected of genocide in Rwanda two years ago.

"In Mugunga, 100 babies were being born each day, said an aid-agency doctor who left Mugunga and just returned to Goma.

"Within three days, 80 percent of the babies will be dead, he said. Without sterile equipment and medical attention, they are susceptible to disease. . . .

"Thursday night, machine-gun fire and mortar shelling toward Mugunga could be heard for about 30 minutes.

"On Friday, Dr. Freddy Mhakata, who fled the camp of 400,000 refugees, said Friday that children and newborn babies were dying and that immediate intervention was needed to contain the catastrophe. . . .

"He said dozens of children had blood in their diarrhea, which could be the first sign of cholera, and that people would start to starve within days.

"People are dying," Mhakata said. "People are starving. There is no food. They are just going into the forest to get bananas and food like that.

"If there is something the world can do, they should do it now."

"Mbakata said he saw mothers carrying dead infants and children in their arms in Mugunga. He counted more than 10 children dead on the day he left and 50 with bloody diarrhea.

"Among the most vulnerable are expectant women, he said. About 25 percent of the refugee population is pregnant. Already, many mothers don't have enough to eat and are not able to feed their newborns, he said.

"Many refugees were weak and exhausted, Mbakata said. Some had walked for miles to reach Mugunga after their camps were attacked by rebels two weeks ago.

"The food situation was critical, he said. Some—the strong ones—found enough. But many others face starvation and don't have clean water to drink. Many were getting their water from nearby Lake Kivu, which he said may be contaminated."

Documentation of the holocaust: reports from around the world

We excerpt here on-the-scene reports, from political groups and international humanitarian and refugee organizations, of the mass death in Africa. Copyrighted reports have been used with permission.

I. The crisis deepens: fall and winter 1996

A. Sept. 18, 1996. The following was released by the Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda (RDR), the semi-official organization representing the Rwandan refugees.

The U.S. policy in the Rwandan crisis is likely to exacerbate tension in the Great Lakes region.

At the beginning of their visit to Rwanda, Messrs. Harry Jonstone and Peter Peterson, both then U.S. Congressmen, suggested yesterday, 17th September 1996, that Rwandese refugees be starved as a means of forcing them to go back home unconditionally, adding that such a measure, inhuman by all standards, had been successfully tested in Kampuchea.

This statement from two senior U.S. officials can not be taken lightly, as it followed other similar utterances by other equally high-ranking officials.

Indeed, on 4th April 1996, while visiting refugee camps in Ngara with the EU Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs, the USAID director, Mr. Brian Atwood, declared that in case of a prolonged impasse in the refugee crisis, refugees could see their food ration stopped so as to compel them to go home. During the latest Geneva roundtable on Rwanda in June 1996, the U.S. delegate and chief of staff of USAID, Mr. Richard McCall, reiterated that food relief to Rwandan refugees should be cut as a way of forcing them to go back.

It is therefore not an isolated statement, and cannot be taken as a personal opinion, but a government policy in the making, that might have been prematurely let out of the bag.

With due respect to the U.S. government, champion of the human rights observance, RDR would like to state that such a policy would be against international standards of behaviour of civilized nations and indeed inhuman in its nature and purpose.

RDR is categorically opposed to the use of food as a weapon in settling political problems.

It should be repeated that the refugee crisis and displace-

ment of people in general is a symptom, and not the cause, of the security crisis in the Great Lakes region. The root cause is bad governance. Any method used to solve the crisis without tackling the issue of governance will compound rather than ease the problem.

One need not labour to try to show how the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) government is the antithesis of democratic governance and therefore carries within itself seeds of self-destruction. Power lies with an extremist group within the Army, which is predominantly mono-ethnic, and the population has been cowed through bloody repression against dissenting voices, under the blanket charges of "genocide suspect" and "infiltrators," and through the omnipresence of a political police "Abakada-cadres" down to the Nyumba Kumi (10 families) level.

It is quite perplexing that suggestions to force Rwandan refugees into the web of the RPF government by using food as a bait comes at a time when massive violations of human rights are being recorded by the UN human rights monitors in Rwanda, as well as by other international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch/Africa, Federation Internationale des Ligues Droits de l'Homme, etc.

While animals easily fall prey to food bait, human beings will always detect the danger and look for other survival mechanisms. Any attempt to use starvation as a means to force refugees to rally behind the undemocratic RPF government, and thus become a prey to the whims of a group that does not respect the rule of law, is likely to boomerang, and proponents of this policy should be held responsible for its bad consequences.

Where else in the world has the U.S. administration remained so insensitive to the blatant violation of the right to private property, as in Rwanda under the RPF regime? How can U.S. senior officials advocate a forced return of refugees to Rwanda to become squatters on their own property, occupied by the RPF up to now?

It has become fashionable and part of a psychological warfare campaign to label anybody who denounces the monopoly of power and repression carried out by the minority army as a Hutu extremist, intimidator, or genocidalist, and to excuse any error committed by that group. However, the real security and self-fulfillment of each group can only come out of dialogue among genuine representatives of the various social groups, on the best form of governance of the country.

Hutu and Tutsi are condemned to live together, not through force but through a social contract agreed upon between the two groups.

Just as the accommodating policy of the colonial powers toward the unjust political and social system exacerbated ethnic tension in Rwanda, and eventually led to the social explosion of 1989, the accommodating policy of the U.S. administration and other powers towards the RPF repression-government is likely to blow up not only Rwanda, but also the sub-region. RDR feels that it would be quite unfortunate if the United States' accommodating policy toward the RPF minority and repressive regime ends up becoming a time bomb that can blow up any time.

Tutsi internationalism to rule over the region could easily spark off the Hutu international conscience, to resist forced Tutsi power.

* * * *

B. Oct. 22, 1996. The statement excerpted here was addressed to the president of the UN General Assembly by the Group for the Return of Refugees and for Democracy in Rwanda, in the name of Claver Kanyarus-hoki, vice president.

Mr. President:

The Group for the Return of Refugees and for Democracy in Rwanda (RDR), an organization representing millions of refugees and voiceless people in Rwanda, wishes to appeal to you to urgently intervene on behalf of more than 1 million Rwandan refugees who are victims of the war developing in East Zaire.

Since last weekend, more than one quarter of a million Rwandan and Burundian refugees were forced to leave their camps to try and flee from the combat zone. They left everything behind them.

They left not only to get away from the combat zone of the so-called Banyamulenge war, but also because they were dying of hunger, since they had not received food aid for more than two weeks, as the HCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] itself has acknowledged. Therefore, they left in too weak a condition, and hundreds if not thousands will probably die on the road from starvation.

These hundreds of thousands of refugees may, unfortunately, never find rest, if the international community does not quickly oblige the aggressor to end this war.

In fact, as the RDR has repeatedly pointed out and denounced, the war in East Zaire is not the Banyamulenge war that some claim it to be, but a much more far-ranging war, that aims at destabilizing all of East Zaire, from south to north. We warned about preparations for this war in our memorandum drawn up for the Round Table of Rwanda's creditors, organized in Geneva on June 20-21, 1996, and again in the memorandum addressed to the Organization of Africa Unity heads of state and of government during their 32nd summit in Youande in July 1996.

At that time (in the latter memo), we warned the international community of the Rwandan regime's intention to internationalize the Rwandan conflict, in the following terms: "The RPF regime, together with its regional and overseas allies, have been waging for some time a vigorous campaign to destabilize Rwandan refugees and to internationalize the conflict. In this way, they try to implicate Rwandan refugees in every incident that breaks out anywhere in the Great Lakes region, especially in Rwanda, Burundi, or Zaire. They have even been accused of taking part in attacks on Ugandan territory!"

The Rwandan refugee has become an easy, ideal scapegoat, whom minority regimes in the region blame for their internal problems, rather than seeking courageous solutions that must involve serious and prompt negotiations with their adversaries, if they truly wish to cut short the suffering of innocent populations, which has lasted so long.

The international community should examine in detail how its aid has been used by the Kigali regime. It is said that this regime takes a good part of the aid to maintain and over-arm its abundant army, which many estimate to be made up of more than 50,000 men. . . .

Not satisfied with the massacres carried out in Rwanda, the RPF regularly sends commandos to massacre people in refugee camps in Burundi and Zaire.

Moreover, information persistently received indicates that the Kigali regime and its allies are preparing a coordinated invasion of all of East Zaire in order to spread death and desolation in the camps containing over 1 million refugees. The international community is thus informed, and should increase protection for these populations.

The RDR claims that this plan has become operational because the war fomented and coordinated out of Kigali is not limited to the sole region of Uvia. It is not the Banyamulenge who bombed the city of Bukavu from Cyangugu last month.

Infiltration of armed men coming from Rwanda into this region, has also been going on for months in North Kivu, and there have been countless attacks from infiltrated men, on refugee camps and on humanitarian convoys. The latest was carried out on Oct. 21, 1996 against the Katala refugee camp, north of Goma. The only supply route remaining for the refugee camps, in North Kivu, is regularly under attack, especially at the Ugandan-Zairean border point of Bunagana.

In addition to the reasons given by the Zairean government, especially in the declaration of the Vice Prime Minister and Interior and Decentralization Minister of the Zaire Republic, during the 47th Session of the HCR's Executive Committee, the Kigali regime wants to destroy and displace the refugee camps through force. The worst is that this regime does not seek to repatriate the refugees, but rather seeks that they be massacred and Zaire destabilized. The attacks in this whole region are also aimed at blocking supplies to the refugee camps and at spreading panic among humanitarian orga-

nizations, to get them to withdraw their staff and, in that way, starve the refugees.

Given all that has gone before, the RDR, in the name of Rwandan refugees, asks you to urgently place this question on the agenda of the Security Council, in order that measures be taken to stop the war, to condemn the Kigali regime, and to protect the physical integrity and other basic rights of refugees recognized by the relevant international Conventions.

* * * *

C. Oct. 22, 1996. The following appeal was released by the Archbishop of Bukavu, who was killed a few weeks later.

Our diocese of Bukavu continues to live through an unprecedented human and Christian drama. Once again, an estimated mass of 200,000 refugees is pouring into an already overcrowded Bukavu. This mass of people is made up of Rwandan and Burundian refugees, as well as displaced Zaireans from the Uvira plain. In fact, this war that the mass media call Banya-muenge, is an invasion coming from Uganda. The invaders' army is composed of Ugandan, Rwandan, and Burundian soldiers and other mercenaries. They are super-equipped, compared to the Zairean Army.

Just as during the invasion of Rwanda, the local population as well as the clergy realize that this invasion was carefully prepared over a long period of time in order to occupy part of Zaire. The soldiers who are here speak English, although the Zaireans, including the Banya mulenge, speak French. They can be seen settling into strategic places and digging up weapons hidden underground a long time ago in villages which are only inhabited by illiterate Banya mulenge.

These latter are then accused of connivance with the invaders. Priests, whose charity is open to all, are also wrongly accused of collaboration with the enemy. Xavierian priests from Luvungi parish had to accompany fugitives towards Bukavu.

The real intention, stated from time to time in Kinyarwanda, of this surprise war, is to prevent Rwandan refugees from returning home, and to impose suffering upon the Zaire that hosted for 30 years the Tutsis who presently rule Rwanda.

Please alert the United Nations—the American government, the German government, the European Union—to help us.

—Monseigneur Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabo,
Archbishop of Bukavu

* * * *

D. Nov. 8, 1996. These are excerpts from a press release of the Rally for the Return of the Refugees and Democracy to Rwanda, issued in Kinshasa, Zaire.

1. A new emergency appeal

The RPR Army attacked Zaire under the pretext of a rebellion of the so-called Banyamulenge. Today, it has been clearly

established that this invasion is the doing of the monoethnic Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) Army, and its aims are several:

- Redrawing the Zaire-Rwanda border to create a Hima-Tutsi Empire in the Great Lake Region
- Exterminating the Hutu population
- Massacring the autochthonous Zairean local populations
- Destabilizing and humiliating Zaire.

This invasion has caused great affliction to the local populations and Rwandan refugees, who have been on the road for several days, isolated from the rest of the world, with no food aid, no medical care, no assistance of any kind. Many are encircled, at the mercy of the RPF monoethnic army.

The RDR, representing millions of Rwandan refugees and other voiceless people in Rwanda, issues an urgent new appeal for emergency humanitarian relief—food, water, shelter, and medical care—to be brought to these millions of people. *Killer diplomacy must give way to international solidarity, to the call of compassion, and to the sense of aiding people in danger.*

In this context, the RDR salutes the decision taken by the Zairean President, Mobutu Sese Seko, to permit arrival of an international force able to guarantee the security of the refugees as well as of the relief to be shipped to victims of the RPF government and army barbarism, murderous insanity, and cynicism.

In this view, the RDR sends an urgent appeal to American President Bill Clinton, asking the United States of America to realize the scope of the humanitarian catastrophe ongoing in eastern Zaire and in Rwanda, and to lift its reservations on initiatives taken by other countries to quickly relieve the millions of people threatened with extermination. *The American President should understand that this emergency help is meant to save human lives, and not to bury the dead, whose numbers are already in the thousands.*

The RDR supports setting up a multinational force to protect zones where refugees are concentrated and Zairean populations are displaced, as well as roads for transporting emergency humanitarian help. The RDR encourages and thanks those who took this initiative and who support it. . . .

2. The refugees have always wanted to return

The RDR has never stopped working toward a quick and peaceful return of Rwandan refugees.

2.1 The RDR has always taken initiatives for return of the refugees.

On several occasions, the RDR has approached the [UN] High Commission on Refugees to discuss the conditions for their return, but often found itself in front of a closed door. Political and diplomatic contacts were made with different countries and organizations to invite them to take initiatives for the return of the refugees and for seeking a lasting, overall political solution to the Rwandan crisis, of which the refugee



Rwanda refugees approach the Zairean town of Goma in summer 1994. Most of these displaced Rwandans are now unaccounted for.

problem is only one aspect. Several memos and letters were sent to the Secretary General of the UN, to the President of the UN Security Council, to the European Union, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (HCR), to the Organization of African Unity and different African countries, but they were never able to agree among themselves on a way to positively influence the process towards a lasting, overall solution.

Debates have focussed on humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem, without considering the political realities behind the exodus. Certain countries and political figures, who are unfamiliar with our region's history, but exert influence, were counting on a hypothetical, artificial stability of the RPF regime.

Meetings and gatherings on the Rwandan crisis were organized, but representatives of the refugees were not invited, in spite of our insistence. These meetings did not give any tangible results.

The RDR issued many calls to the ruling power in Kigali, proposing a dialogue in order to create a climate of confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees and to discuss political conditions to establishing peace. . . .

2.2 The RPF and its government have never supported the return of the refugees to their country.

Indeed, while the refugees are being pressured into returning by force, the RPF and its government continue to dissuade them from doing so by acts of terror, illustrated by the following cases:

- Massacres such as those of Kibeho in April 1995, in Kanama in September 1995, in Ngororero on April 28, 1996, in Bayi, a town of Ramba, on July 15, 1996, in Nyakinama on Aug. 8, 1996, and in Kibilira on Aug. 13, 1996, to name only a few. These constitute, with many others, operations of ethnic cleansing and systematic elimination of the Hutu population and elite.

- Massive, arbitrary arrests to allow for the elimination of those people in death prisons and other places of clandestine incarceration.

- Illegal takeover of refugees' goods, land, and buildings by dignitaries of the RPF regime, and distributing refugees' goods to members and supporters of the RPF.

- Terrorist acts carried out by the RPF abroad.

3. Perspectives for a rapid return

The RDR reaffirms the refugees' willingness to return rapidly and definitively to their country. As has been emphasized, *a massive, definitive, organized return requires a strong, credible, structured, responsible organization that the refugees trust in. The RDR has accepted to play this role.*

The RDR is ready to participate, with all other partners, especially the Zairean government and the Tanzanian government which shelter most of the refugees, with concerned countries and international agencies, in the search for a rapid solution to the refugee problem and for an overall, definitive solution to the crisis of the Great Lake countries in general, and of Rwanda in particular.

Rwandan refugees and countries in the region will never have confidence in a minority regime whose monoethnic army fires on helpless refugees in their camps, and invades its neighbors. They will never find peace with a government demanding the borders inherited from colonial times be revised. If such a government remains, it would come down to posing a permanent danger for the Rwandan population and the populations of neighboring countries, because it could break, at any time, the fragile balance in the region. . . .

3.1 Adopting measures to gain confidence of the refugees:

3.1.1 Recognizing the rights of Rwandan refugees in different countries where they are exiled, as defined by the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the Organization of African Unity Convention of 1969.

3.1.2 Active participation of the RDR, as representative of the refugees and other voiceless Rwandans within the country, in all processes concerning return of the refugees and the conditions for their security and their representation in different national institutions.

3.1.3 Explicit condemnation, by countries and agencies involved in the refugees' return, of the attack launched against the Rwandan refugee camps and the autochthonous Zairean populations by the monoethnic army of the RPF.

3.1.4 Stopping pressures and harassment of the refugees designed to destabilize them and force them to return.

3.1.5 Cancelling measures taken by the RPF government to distribute new identity papers and change national passports.

3.2 Implementing objectively controllable security measures within Rwanda.

3.2.1 Creating within Rwanda, as a transitory measure, security zones guaranteed by international security and run by the RDR. These security measures should be such that RPF incursions will no longer be possible, so as to prevent massacres like those in Kibeho in April 1995.

3.2.2 Rapidly forming a large National Consensus Government able to guarantee the rule of law, the security of each and every citizen, and peace with neighboring countries.

3.2.3 Adopting a transitional constitution that guarantees the rights and security of each and every citizen as well as an impartial justice, and that allows for creating representative institutions, legitimized through elections to be held within a certain period of time earlier agreed upon.

3.2.4 Forming a National Army the population trusts.

3.2.5 Restituting refugees' possessions to their owners and respecting the right to private property.

3.2.6 Opening an investigation into crimes committed by the RPF and its leaders since 1990, at the time the RPF started the war from out of Uganda and with the support of Uganda, and legal prosecution of those involved in these crimes.

3.2.7 Opening an international investigation into the assassination of President Juvenal Habyarimana and other political figures.

3.3 Changing the attitude of the international community,

which must be firmer and include:

3.3.1 Condemning the aggression against Zaire by the RPF army.

3.3.2 Ending military assistance to the RPF monoethnic army, especially by the United States.

3.3.3 Having the UN Security Council reimpose an arms embargo against the RPF government.

3.3.4 Suspending all aid to the RPF minority government, until such time as the Large National Consensus Government is installed.

3.3.5 Diplomatic, political, and financial support for the Large National Consensus Government, until the conditions for a moral and physical reconstruction are fulfilled.

E. Nov. 8, 1996. The United States Catholic Conference issues its "Statement in Response to the Crisis in the Great Lakes Region."

In its statement, the U.S. Catholic Conference calls upon "the international community to act quickly and decisively to assist in putting an end to the current violence . . . where hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children are being forced to live in subhuman social, economic, cultural, and political conditions."

The bishops condemn the killing of Archbishop Christopher Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabo, noting that "a large number of Church officials have fallen victim to violence in the region since 1993."

The statement calls upon the U.S. government to "take the lead with the international community" by diplomatic pressure to end the violence and restore order, reimpose the arms embargo, develop safe corridors and roads, and "*prepare for the airlift of food, shelter materials, and other equipment, as needed, to avert mass starvation and disease among the refugees and local populations.*"

II. Hell in the new year: 1997 begins

F. Jan. 14, 1997. Amnesty International releases the report we excerpt here (Amnesty International Country Report AI Index: AFR 47/02/97).

RWANDA: Human rights overlooked in mass repatriation

I. INTRODUCTION

Between 15 and 19 November 1996, an estimated half-million Rwandese refugees crossed over the border from Zaire into Rwanda; tens of thousands more returned in the following days. After more than two years in exile, they were finally driven out by the escalating violence and brutal abuse

of human rights by all parties involved in the conflict which erupted in eastern Zaire in October 1996.

Amnesty International delegates who were in Gisenyi, in northwestern Rwanda, in November 1996 spoke to many returnees within days or hours of their return. Many appeared traumatized, exhausted, and hungry. Some said they were pleased to be back in their country, even though it was violence which had forced them to return. Others appeared afraid, not knowing what was awaiting them in Rwanda.

This report summarizes the findings of Amnesty International's visit to Rwanda in November 1996, presents an overview of the risk of human rights violations facing returnees to Rwanda in mid-December 1996, and recommends steps to prevent these violations.

Several foreign governments and intergovernmental organizations, including United Nations agencies based in Rwanda, declared their relative satisfaction with the repatriation operation in November. Apparently encouraged by the failure of the international community to criticize the repatriation from Zaire, the Tanzanian government decided in December 1996 that it too would expel hundreds of thousands of Rwandese refugees.

During the repatriation operations from both Zaire and Tanzania, the broader problem of disregard for human rights in Rwanda appears to have been forgotten. Yet by mid-December 1996, the number of detainees held without trial had reached around 90,000, including over 1,000 returnees from Zaire and Tanzania; the overcrowding in many detention centres continued to result in deaths among detainees; and arbitrary arrests and "disappearances" persisted. Furthermore, little action has been taken by the Rwandese government to bring to justice members of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) responsible for killing hundreds of unarmed civilians in military "cordon and search" operations as recently as August 1996 (see footnote 1).

During interviews in refugee camps in Zaire and Tanzania in 1995 and 1996, refugees expressed to Amnesty International their fears of being arbitrarily arrested, held in inhuman prison conditions, or killed if they returned to Rwanda. Political propaganda and physical and psychological intimidation by leaders allied with the former Rwandese government and military have been among the factors preventing their return, as documented in previous Amnesty International reports (see footnote 2). However, fears of falling victim to human rights violations in Rwanda have also contributed substantially to the reluctance of refugees to return. Yet from Burundi in July and August 1996, from Zaire in November 1996, and from Tanzania in December 1996, hundreds of thousands of refugees were forced back to Rwanda without being offered any option for protection.

During their visit to Rwanda, Amnesty International delegates, including the organization's Secretary General, held meetings with senior government officials to discuss the human rights situation in Rwanda, and in particular the condi-

tions awaiting returnees. The officials, including the Vice President Paul Kagame, advisors to the President and Vice President, and several ministers, gave assurances that human rights would be respected. Officials told Amnesty International that instructions had been given not to arrest individuals unless a case file had been drawn up beforehand, that some prisoners would be released to ease the overcrowding in detention centres, and that individual reports of human rights violations would be investigated. Some officials acknowledged that wrongful arrests, [and] incidents of killings and ill-treatment had occurred. Amnesty International welcomes the assurances that returning refugees have nothing to fear, and the promises made by the Rwandese government that measures will be taken to improve the human rights situation.

Most of these promises have yet to be fulfilled. In order to be truly effective, they must also be accompanied by longer-term, wide-ranging reforms which can guarantee lasting respect for human rights. Without such guarantees, and while human rights violations persist in Rwanda, many refugees' fears of returning to their country may prove to be well-founded.

II. MASS RETURN FROM ZAIRE

The return of an estimated 500,000 Rwandese refugees from Zaire in just a few days was not voluntary. It was a question of survival. Refugees who had just crossed over the border into Gisenyi, northwestern Rwanda, in mid-November 1996 told Amnesty International that their camps had been attacked by armed groups. Their testimonies concurred with those gathered during separate Amnesty International visits to Zaire and Tanzania during the same period.

Amnesty International has published reports on grave human rights abuses committed by all the parties involved in the fighting in eastern Zaire (see footnote 3).

In the panic, many refugees became separated from members of their families. To this day, some do not know what has become of their children, parents, or siblings. Among the hundreds of thousands who crossed into Rwanda were many unaccompanied children. International agencies have succeeded in reuniting some families, but the whereabouts of many refugees who fled inwards into the forest in eastern Zaire are still not known.

The returnees spoke of armed clashes between the Zairean Armed Forces and the Tutsi-led armed group, commonly known as the Banyamulenge, officially the Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo-Zaïre (AFDL), Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaïre. Some said they had seen RPA soldiers crossing over from Rwanda—from both Gisenyi and Cyangugu—into eastern Zaire in October 1996 to assist the AFDL. Journalists also reported seeing RPA soldiers crossing from Gisenyi to Goma.

Some returnees spoke of clashes between the AFDL and soldiers of the former Rwandese Army and the Interahamwe

militia, who were largely responsible for the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Several said that following the initial clashes, the soldiers of the former Rwandese Army and the Interahamwe militia fled northwards or westwards, accompanied by a large group of refugees described by some as "hostages."

Many refugees and local Zaireans died in the fighting, some caught in cross-fire, others deliberately targeted. The identity of the killers was not always known. One refugee from Mugunga camp said he had seen around 50 bodies, of men, women, and children, most of them with gunshot wounds, around Mugunga camp and in the forest. Other refugees, as well as displaced Zaireans, died of hunger, exhaustion, and disease. Whatever the causes of death, those who attacked the camps and took advantage of the military clashes to kill and disperse refugees were responsible for significant loss of life and for terrorizing hundreds of thousands of refugees.

Eugène Ntwageneka, 25 years old, returned to Rwanda in mid-November with his two brothers aged 22 and seven, leaving his two elder brothers behind in Zaire. He had fled from Katale camp into the forest after hearing rifle fire and seeing three dead bodies in the camp. Like thousands of others, he reached Mugunga camp, then crossed into Gisenyi, in Rwanda.

Alphonse Nkulikiyinka, 46 years old, left Kahindo camp after it was attacked on 30 October. He travelled through the forest with his wife and five children, the youngest only eight months old. They reached Sake, then Mugunga. By the time they reached Mugunga, the camp was practically empty, as it had also been attacked. The family walked on to Goma on 18 November and finally crossed the border into Rwanda.

Jean-Oswald Nuyubuzi, a 20-year-old former student, arrived in Rwanda on 17 November with his family. They had fled Mugunga camp following a rocket attack and fighting between former Rwandese government forces and the Banyamulenge. He witnessed the fighting and said many refugees died from gunshot wounds and from the rocket attack. Among the victims was his friend, 25-year-old Jean-Marie Minyimi. Jean-Oswald Nuyubuzi and his family spent several days in the forest without food. He said they would have died if they had not returned to Rwanda. Amnesty International delegates spoke to him at a way station in Gisenyi, where he and many other returnees were visibly in poor health, exhausted and hungry. They had not been given food or any information about means of transport to their home areas. Jean-Oswald Nuyubuzi's family house in Mutura commune, in Gisenyi, was occupied by another family. His family had been told they would have to share it with the illegal occupants and stay in the annex. Before leaving Rwanda in 1994, he had been a literature student. He was hoping to resume his studies in Rwanda.

Another young returnee said his mother, grandmother, and 18-year-old sister had been killed during the attacks on

Mugunga camp.

Amnesty International spoke to refugees who had arrived in their home areas in Gisenyi. In Rusiza secteur, Mutura commune, an elderly man who had returned on 15 November described his flight from Kahindo camp. He and thousands of others had fled into the forest; he said many had died there. He had lost his wife and five children, four of their own and one orphan, the youngest three years old. He came over the border alone and had no news of his family. He said he feared they were dead, and could not understand why international organizations were not doing more to try to find those who had dispersed in the forest.

Amnesty International also interviewed returnees and Burundi refugees in Cyangugu, in the southwest. They had fled from South Kivu in eastern Zaire, and described attacks on refugee camps there and killings of refugees. Tharcisse Barutwanayo, a 22-year-old Burundi refugee from Kayanza, had fled from eastern Zaire into Rwanda in fear of his life. A former student, he had first fled Burundi in late 1993, following widespread massacres there. He had stayed in Rwanda until July 1994, then fled to Zaire. He said there was fighting between the Banyamulenge and the Zairean security forces, from 15 October 1996 onwards, close to Luvungi camp, near Uvira. He fled towards Bukavu, with many other Rwandese and Burundi refugees, then to Chimanga. At Chimanga he witnessed the massacre of Rwandese and Burundi refugees and displaced Zaireans by the AFDL. He testified:

"At 5 p.m., the Banyamulenge entered the camp. . . . They told us to gather in a particular place in the camp, for a meeting, during which they would tell us how we could return. In total there were 700 people in the camp. Around 100 agreed to go to the meeting place. We did not, as we were afraid of being killed. Then they surrounded the camp so that no one could escape. At 5:45 p.m., they shelled the area where they had told people to gather. They also shot at those people with their guns. Meanwhile, the ones who had surrounded the camp also opened fire on those of us who had not gone to the meeting place. Many died. Next to my tent there were around 20 dead, and two more from among our little group. Of the 700 people who had been in the camp, fewer than 100 arrived at the transit camp."

Eventually he crossed into Cyangugu in Rwanda. He had been walking for five weeks. He had no news of his wife, and his young child had died of disease. He was afraid of being repatriated to Burundi, where mass killings by the security forces and armed groups persist. He had been told at the border that Burundi refugees would be sent back to Burundi. He told Amnesty International: "We are permanently caught between life and death."

The general confusion and absence of information about exactly who crossed the border from Zaire into Rwanda has made it easier for the perpetrators of human rights abuses in Zaire to conceal their crimes. For example on 30 November 1996, Phocas Nikwigize, the former Bishop of Ruhengeri in

Rwanda, now in his 70s, "disappeared" in Goma, in eastern Zaire. He had been a refugee in Zaire since 1994. As he was making his way to the border with Rwanda, he was stopped and led away by a group of armed men. There has been no further news of him, from either side of the border, and he is feared dead.

Many other refugees died in eastern Zaire or have "disappeared." Throughout December, Amnesty International has continued to receive testimonies of widespread killings of civilians in North and South Kivu, indicating that the full extent of the violations in the area has not yet been revealed.

III. THE PROCESS OF RETURN FROM ZAIRE

The sudden return of such a large number of refugees in such a short period posed major practical and logistical problems for government authorities and humanitarian organizations in Rwanda.

There was no attempt to register the hundreds of thousands of refugees as they crossed the border into Rwanda. While this may be understandable in the light of the numbers involved, Amnesty International is concerned that this presents a serious obstacle to effective monitoring of the subsequent fate of individuals. The absence of registration until returnees reach their home areas means that there is scope for "disappearances."

It quickly became apparent to Amnesty International and other observers who were present in Gisenyi between 15 and 19 November that the Rwandese authorities had wrested control of the operation from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and non-governmental humanitarian organizations. Vehicles belonging to UN agencies and other humanitarian organizations were commandeered by the authorities. The strategy of the government was to keep the returnees moving to their home areas as quickly as possible, even though some of these areas were far from the border. The rationale given by the authorities was that attempts by returnees to stop along the road could pose a security threat.

Humanitarian non-governmental organizations were told that food could be distributed only after the returnees had formally registered with local authorities in their home areas, a process which would take at least several days. Returnees were forced to survive by finding roots and leaves beside the road, or by sharing food provided by local residents once they returned to their home areas. Along the road from the border, occasional distribution of biscuits by international organizations sometimes led to fighting among returnees.

On 18 November, Rwandese officials arrived at a temporary medical centre set up by the Red Cross and other agencies near the border. They forced around 350 patients into trucks, reportedly without giving any explanation, and moved them to the former UNHCR transit centre of Nkamira, the control of which had been assumed by Rwandese officials. The patients included disabled and elderly returnees, as well as about 20

mothers with new-born babies. Only those receiving intravenous fluids or suspected of serious infectious diseases were allowed to remain temporarily in the medical centre.

Many of the refugees returning to Rwanda were already in poor physical condition after walking for weeks in Zaire to escape the fighting. Once they crossed the border, they were not allowed to rest. The Rwandese authorities made them carry on walking, in some cases all the way to their home areas, in other cases to a transit point more than 60 km from the border, from where those who lived further away were provided with transport. On the night of 19 November, Amnesty International delegates saw tens of thousands of people, including women and small children, marching from Gisenyi to Ruhengeri, in much larger numbers and at a much faster pace than had been noticed on previous nights.

Despite these problems, a UNHCR spokesperson speaking in Gisenyi on 18 November stated "there is no indication that the government is deliberately keeping people walking." When asked by journalists why UNHCR had not protested at the forcible closure of the medical centre, he replied that it was not the role of UNHCR to do so. The following day he stated that "on the whole it [the repatriation] has gone amazingly well."

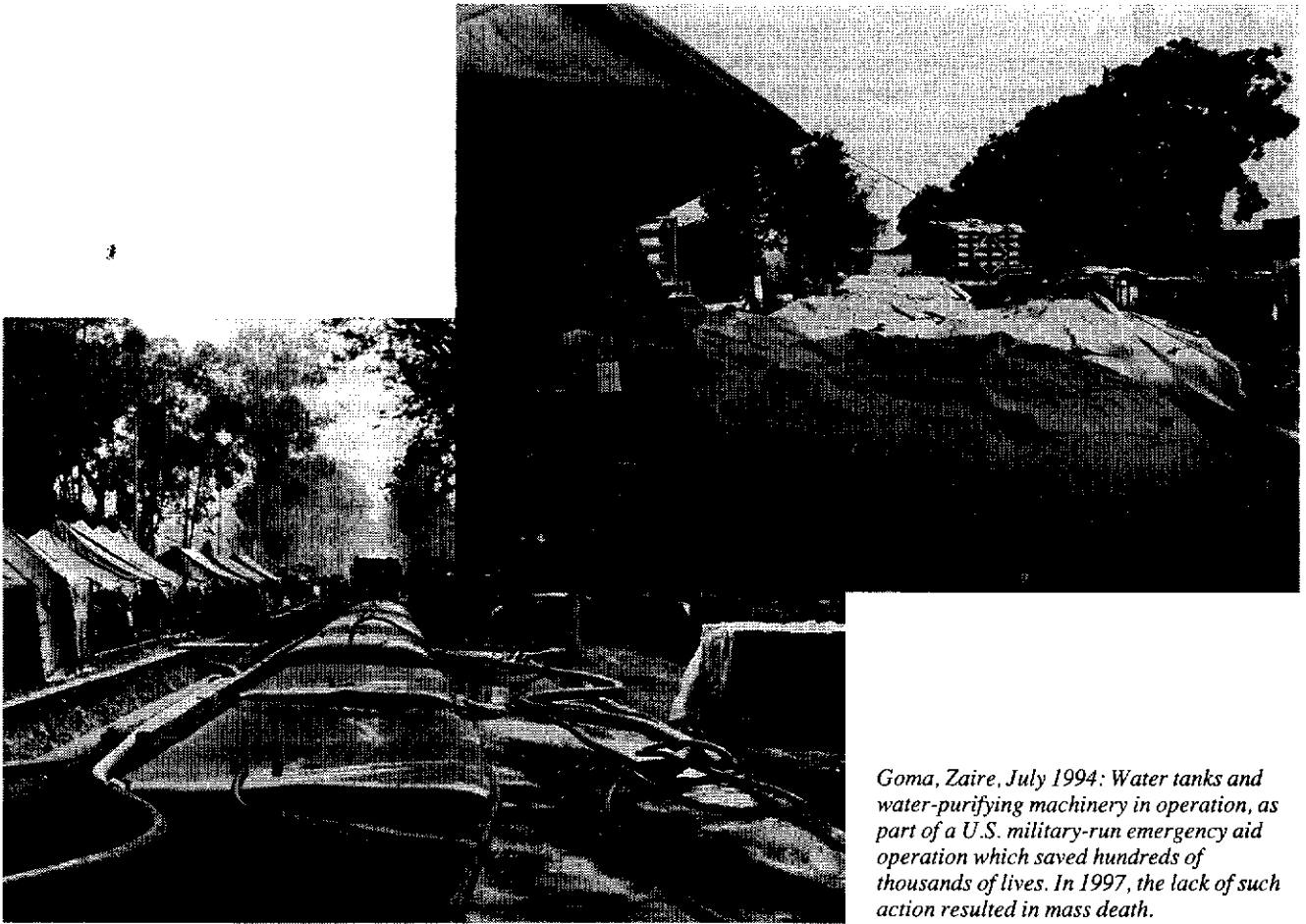
While journalists and human rights organizations were mostly allowed access to the border area and sites along the way, Rwandese soldiers threatened three local journalists who were taking photographs of the returnees in Gisenyi and of soldiers forcing returnees to move on from around Nkamira transit centre. The journalists' films were confiscated by the soldiers.

IV. MASS REFOULEMENT OF RWANDESE REFUGEES FROM TANZANIA

In early December, a joint statement was issued by the Tanzanian government and the UNHCR which stated that all Rwandese refugees could now return to their country in safety, and that all of them were expected to leave by 31 December 1996. The population of Rwandese refugees in Tanzania was estimated at more than 500,000. Unlike the refugee population in Zaire and Burundi, the refugees in Tanzania had been able to live in a comparatively secure environment; their camps were not under attack and no major security incidents or widespread violence had been reported.

At the time of writing, in mid-December 1996, more than half the estimated 550,000 Rwandese refugees in Tanzania are reported to have crossed the border or to be on their way there. The whereabouts of thousands of others who fled eastwards or towards neighbouring countries is still not known.

Amnesty International considers that the joint statement by the Tanzanian government and UNHCR and the subsequent forcible return of hundreds of thousands of Rwandese refugees breaches Tanzania's international legal obligations towards refugees on its territory, notably to protect them against *refoulement* (forced repatriation). The joint statement,



Goma, Zaire, July 1994: Water tanks and water-purifying machinery in operation, as part of a U.S. military-run emergency aid operation which saved hundreds of thousands of lives. In 1997, the lack of such action resulted in mass death.

which was addressed to the refugees, made no mention of any options for those who continue to fear human rights violations in Rwanda. It was an unprecedented move which represented a departure from situations elsewhere in the world in which UNHCR has been involved, where some provision has been made for identifying those who might be at risk in their country of origin. The wording of the statement left no doubt that the refugees would be expelled from Tanzania, and though there were reports that a screening procedure might be put in place for those refugees too fearful to return, that possibility does not appear to have been publicly acknowledged by the Tanzanian government or UNHCR. A number of refugees who have refused to return are being held in a closed camp in Mwisa. The Tanzanian authorities are not known to have instituted any screening procedure to assess their claim.

The ultimatum created panic among the refugees. Many fled the camps around Ngara and walked eastwards, away from the border, and northwards towards Uganda. From around 14 December, thousands were forcibly turned back by the Tanzanian security forces and redirected towards the Rwandese border. Military reinforcements were sent to the area, and members of the Tanzanian security forces reportedly entered some camps to force refugees to leave. For several

days, most humanitarian organizations who had been assisting the refugees, including UNHCR, were denied access to the camps by the Tanzanian security forces. Senior Rwandese government and military officials were also reportedly seen in the area around the camps near Ngara.

Amnesty International is investigating reports that members of the Tanzanian security forces beat some refugees in the regions of Ngara and Karagwe, and burned down a church in Benaco camp in order to make refugees return to Rwanda.

Around 3,000 refugees reportedly fled from Tanzania into Uganda; most of them are women and children. Amnesty International is concerned at reports that Ugandan government officials,—including the Minister for Local Government, Jaberu Bidandi Ssali, quoted in *The New Vision* newspaper on 18 December 1996—have stated that the refugees will not be allowed to remain in Uganda and will be deported back to Tanzania or to Rwanda.

Across the border, the Rwandese authorities severely restricted access to the border area and prevented many non-governmental organizations from assisting returnees, although there were reportedly fewer transport and food distribution problems than in the November repatriation from Zaire. The refugees from Tanzania were not registered as they

crossed the border into Rwanda, again presenting obstacles to effective monitoring and the potential for "disappearances." Given that in the case of Tanzania there was not the same urgency to the repatriation, a proper process of registration should have been possible.

This was not the first *refoulement* of Rwandese refugees by Tanzania. For example, on 22 August 1996, seven refugees from Lumasi camp—Gervais Bigirabagabo, Boniface Birekeraho, Jean-Providence Gahutu, Léonidas Munyaneza, Laurent Mushimiyimana, Eugène Tugireyezu, and Augustin Ukobizaba—all intellectuals who had played a leadership role in the refugee camp, were arrested by Tanzanian officials, detained for two days at Kabanga police station, and handed over to the Rwandese authorities. They have been detained without trial at the gendarmerie in Kibungo, in eastern Rwanda, since then. The seven appear to have been arrested by the Tanzanian authorities not because of any involvement in the genocide in Rwanda, but because they had been calling for better security in Rwanda and for dialogue between refugees and the Rwandese government. They had sent a memorandum to the President of Tanzania asking him to use his influence to bring about a solution to the political impasse in Rwanda, and criticizing the stance of the Organization of African Unity towards the human rights situation in Rwanda.

V. RISKS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FACING RETURNEES

Amnesty International has raised concerns on a number of occasions about the pattern of human rights violations in Rwanda, in particular arbitrary arrests, prolonged detention without charge, or trial in conditions amounting to cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment, ill-treatment, "disappearance" and extrajudicial executions by government or security agents. Amnesty International fears that the returnees from Zaire and Tanzania may be at risk of such human rights violations, as well as of attacks by the local population.

The returnees are not necessarily at greater risk of such violations than other sectors of the population in Rwanda. However, many returnees will be viewed with suspicion because of the presence of perpetrators of the genocide in the refugee camps in Zaire and Tanzania. Measures must be taken to ensure that individuals who took no part in the genocide are not victimized simply because they fled in 1994.

One of the biggest problems facing returnees is conflict over property and land. In many cases, the land they previously occupied or owned has been taken over by others. Their return will inevitably set into motion disputes over rights to land and ownership of property. The government has set up a building programme for new housing and has declared that illegal occupants must vacate properties within two weeks of the return of the owner, but there appear to be few mechanisms for ensuring compliance with this directive or for adjudicating disputes. Some returnees have to share their home with the illegal occupants, others stay with friends or

family. Many are too frightened to claim back their property. Throughout 1995 and 1996, people who tried to reclaim their property were arrested, "disappeared," or killed. These abuses were not always carried out by government agents, but the government has done little to put an end to them. Since November 1996, in some areas illegal occupants are reported to be moving out of property belonging to returnees; in others, however, some have reportedly refused to do so.

1. Detention without charge or trial and arbitrary arrests

Of the estimated 90,000 people currently in detention in Rwanda, most accused of participation in the genocide, many have been arbitrarily and unlawfully arrested, sometimes on the basis of little or no evidence. Amnesty International has received numerous testimonies of arbitrary arrests and has spoken to individual detainees and relatives of detainees during 1996. Amnesty International believes that many of those currently in detention may be guilty of crimes committed during the genocide, but that many others are probably innocent.

In recent months, there has been progress in the reconstruction of the national judicial system in Rwanda. However, significant concerns remain. Amnesty International has raised with the Rwandese government concerns about the prospects of unfair trials, including the absence of defence lawyers, questions about the competence, impartiality, and independence of legal personnel, and the refusal to allow foreign judicial experts to work at certain levels of the judicial system. Amnesty International has also repeatedly expressed its opposition to the application of the death penalty (see footnote 4).

One case illustrating the problem of arbitrary arrests is that of Abbé Jean-Francois Kayiranga, a 34-year-old priest from the diocese of Nyundo and a former teacher. He was arrested on 6 November 1996 in Kivumu, Kibuye Prefecture, when he went to register for his new identity card. The *officier de police judiciaire* (judicial police officer) reportedly wrote out an arrest warrant on the spot and arrested him, on the basis of an unspecified accusation that he had participated in the genocide. According to several sources, Abbé Kayiranga was the only priest in the diocese of Nyundo who did not leave the country in 1994, and was commended by survivors for his role in saving a number of people from the killings. Abbé Kayiranga is being held in the detention centre at Gitesi, where conditions are extremely harsh. On the night of 22-23 October 1996, 16 detainees died there as a result of severe overcrowding and poor ventilation (see footnote 5).

In November 1996, the Rwandese government announced that instructions had been given to relevant officials that arbitrary arrests should not take place, and that individuals should not be arrested unless a case file (*dossier*) had been prepared beforehand. It appears that some efforts have been made to respect these instructions, although the definition of what constitutes a file remains vague. In many cases, a single denunciation against an individual appears sufficient to justify an arrest—despite the latest government instructions.

On 15 November 1996—the day that the refugees began returning from Zaire—it was reported that a list had appeared in at least one commune office in Kigali, with the names of people killed during the massacres of 1994 and beside them, the names of those alleged to have carried out the killings.

In December 1996, the government made public a list of 1,946 names of individuals suspected of having played a leading role in the genocide—referred to as Category 1 suspects (see footnote 6)—compiled on the basis of information provided by prosecutors from different parts of the country. Several people on this list are reported to have been arrested. It is not clear how much detailed evidence is available against all the individuals on the list.

At the time of writing, more than 1,000 returnees from Zaire and Tanzania are reported to have been arrested. Scores have reported being ill-treated during arrest or in detention. The precise charges against them are not yet known. The arrest rate of returnees appeared to increase in the first half of December. Some of those arrested are reportedly named on the government's list of Category 1 suspects. Independent sources confirmed to Amnesty International that known perpetrators of killings in 1994 were among the influx of returnees. Those arrested in November and December include several former local government officials, such as *bourgmestres*, *conseillers de secteur*, former state employees, and former soldiers of the Rwandese armed forces. In some cases, the authorities have said that individuals have been arrested for their own security, to protect them against revenge attacks; they claimed that some individuals asked to be arrested.

Further large-scale arrests can be expected as returnees begin registering for new identity cards. The rate of arrests rose sharply in April and May 1996, when registration for new cards began. All Rwandese citizens are expected to apply for the new identity card by returning to their home commune and registering with the local authorities.

Some returnees have reportedly been arrested without any explanation. For example, on 10 December, Origène Rutayisire, a 35-year-old former school director, was arrested at the commune office at Nkuli, Ruhengeri Province. The reason for his arrest is not known. He had been a refugee in Katala camp in Zaire, and had returned to Rwanda on 22 November.

Phocas Habimana, a 54-year-old economist, and his wife Gaudence Nyasafari-Habimana, a sociologist, returned from Zaire to Rwanda, in November 1996. Ten days after their return, Phocas Habimana was arrested. He is currently in detention in Ruhengeri. Shortly after his arrest, his wife's home was raided by armed men and all her property stolen. Phocas Habimana and Gaudence Nyasafari-Habimana had both served as advisors to the former government of Rwanda, he as an economic advisor and she as director of the National Population Office.

Members of the former Army are especially likely to be

viewed with suspicion. On 19 November 1996, Amnesty International delegates were present during a meeting at the commune office in Rwerere, Gisenyi, between local civilian and military authorities and a group of 33 former members of the Rwandese Armed Forces who had just returned from Zaire. The official speech to the former soldiers consisted mainly of messages of reassurance and reconciliation, but it was also stated explicitly that the former soldiers would be the first suspects in the event of any insecurity or violence in their area.

Following the return to Rwanda of around 75,000 refugees from Burundi in July and August 1996, Rwandese authorities and representatives of international organizations pointed to the fact that "only around 1%" of the returnees had been arrested and that few had been targeted for human rights violations in Rwanda. However, by November 1996, it was reported that more than 2,000 of the returnees from Burundi were being detained without charge or trial in seriously overcrowded detention centres. Most were held in Butare, where conditions in some detention centres amount to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. The returnees who have been detained include many intellectuals and individuals who served as local officials under the former government.

2. Prison conditions amounting to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment

As the rate of arrests increases, conditions in prisons and detention centres across Rwanda will continue to worsen. Unless immediate measures are taken to reduce the overcrowding, further deaths in custody can be expected. By November 1996, conditions in areas such as Gisenyi, where overcrowding had been less than in other parts of the country, had deteriorated considerably. Overcrowding and lack of facilities in detention centres in several other prefectures continued to cause serious concern. In Kibuye, 39 detainees died in two separate incidents in May and October 1996. Deaths of detainees resulting from intolerable conditions in 1996 were reported in several other prefectures, including Rural Kigali, one of the areas to which many refugees are returning. At the end of September 1996, three detainees—refugees who had returned to Rwanda earlier in the year—reportedly suffocated to death in a detention centre in Butare, just a few days after their arrest.

Repeated promises made by the government throughout 1996 that children under 14 and elderly and sick prisoners would be released have still not been implemented. Some government officials have admitted that the *commissions de triage* (screening committees) set up to release detainees against whom there is insufficient evidence were not working and said they would be disbanded, but no effective alternative mechanism has yet been set up.

Ill-treatment of detainees by security officials, usually in the form of beatings, also continues to be reported in various parts of the country. Several detainees have died as

a result of severe ill-treatment.

3. 'Disappearances'

Amnesty International has documented a number of "disappearances" in 1995 and 1996. The involvement of state agents is not clear in all cases. However, to Amnesty International's knowledge, the government has not made public the results of its investigations into these "disappearances" nor taken action to prevent their recurrence.

For example, on 2 August 1996, Venant Ntirampeba, a Burundi national who worked for SINELAC, a company owned jointly by the governments of Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire, "disappeared" in Cyangugu. He had reportedly been threatened by several colleagues after the coup d'état in Burundi on 26 July. On 2 August, the chief of immigration in Cyangugu, two RPA soldiers, and a colleague took him towards the border, claiming that he needed to obtain a new visa. He has not been seen since.

On 4 May 1996, Cyprien Gakuba, a father of three who lived in Kigali, "disappeared" in Byumba, along the road heading north from Kigali. The bus in which he was travelling was stopped by RPA soldiers and Cyprien Gakuba and several other passengers were made to get off the bus. The soldiers then ordered the bus to move on. Cyprien Gakuba was never seen again.

Amnesty International is especially concerned that returnees could be victims of "disappearances," given the absence of registration at the border or in transit. These fears are heightened by the inevitable chaos arising from the mass movement of so many people.

4. Killings

In August 1996, Amnesty International published a report entitled *Rwanda: Alarming Resurgence of Killings*, which described the killings of hundreds of unarmed civilians by members of the RPA and by armed opposition groups allied to the former Rwandese Army and militia. To Amnesty International's knowledge, the Rwandese government has not published the results of its investigations into any of the extrajudicial executions by its own forces. The RPA commander in charge of the cordon-and-search operations in Ruhengeri in which more than 150 people were massacred in July and August 1996 has reportedly been transferred to the eastern prefecture of Kibungu, one of the main areas to which refugees from Tanzania are now returning.

In mid-December, it was reported that an RPA official, Lieutenant Colonel Ibingira, was being tried by a military court in connection with the massacre of several thousand people at Kibeho in April 1995. Amnesty International welcomes this action and urges the government to also bring to justice RPA officials involved in killings of civilians since then.

Killings by members of the RPA and attacks attributed to armed opposition groups have continued sporadically. On 27 October 1996, Judith Mukabaranga, *bourgmestre* of Nyakabuye in Cyangugu, was killed in her home, together

with her younger sister, Rose, and two visitors, a young woman, Francine, and a 15-year-old boy, Jean-de-Dieu. It is thought that the perpetrators were members of militia operating from Zaire or Burundi. They also mounted an attack on the nearby detention centre and freed around 100 detainees. At least one RPA soldier and two detainees were reportedly killed.

Since the mass return of refugees from Zaire in November 1996, Amnesty International has received information about several killings of returnees. On 9 December, in the early hours of the morning, a soldier visited six families—reportedly returnees from Zaire—in Kicukiro, Kigali, and ordered six men to follow him to the local *secteur* office. On arrival at the office, he shot them. Three of them, Gafaranga, Gatera, and Ntihabose, reportedly died on the spot. The others, Bagaragaza, Rwabuyonza, and Mugarura, were seriously injured. It is thought that the soldier believed they had participated in the genocide. A soldier is reported to have been arrested in connection with the shooting.

Other killings of returnees, as well as killings of local civilians by returnees, were reported in November and December from various parts of Rwanda. Amnesty International is investigating these cases.

VI. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE REFOULEMENT OF REFUGEES

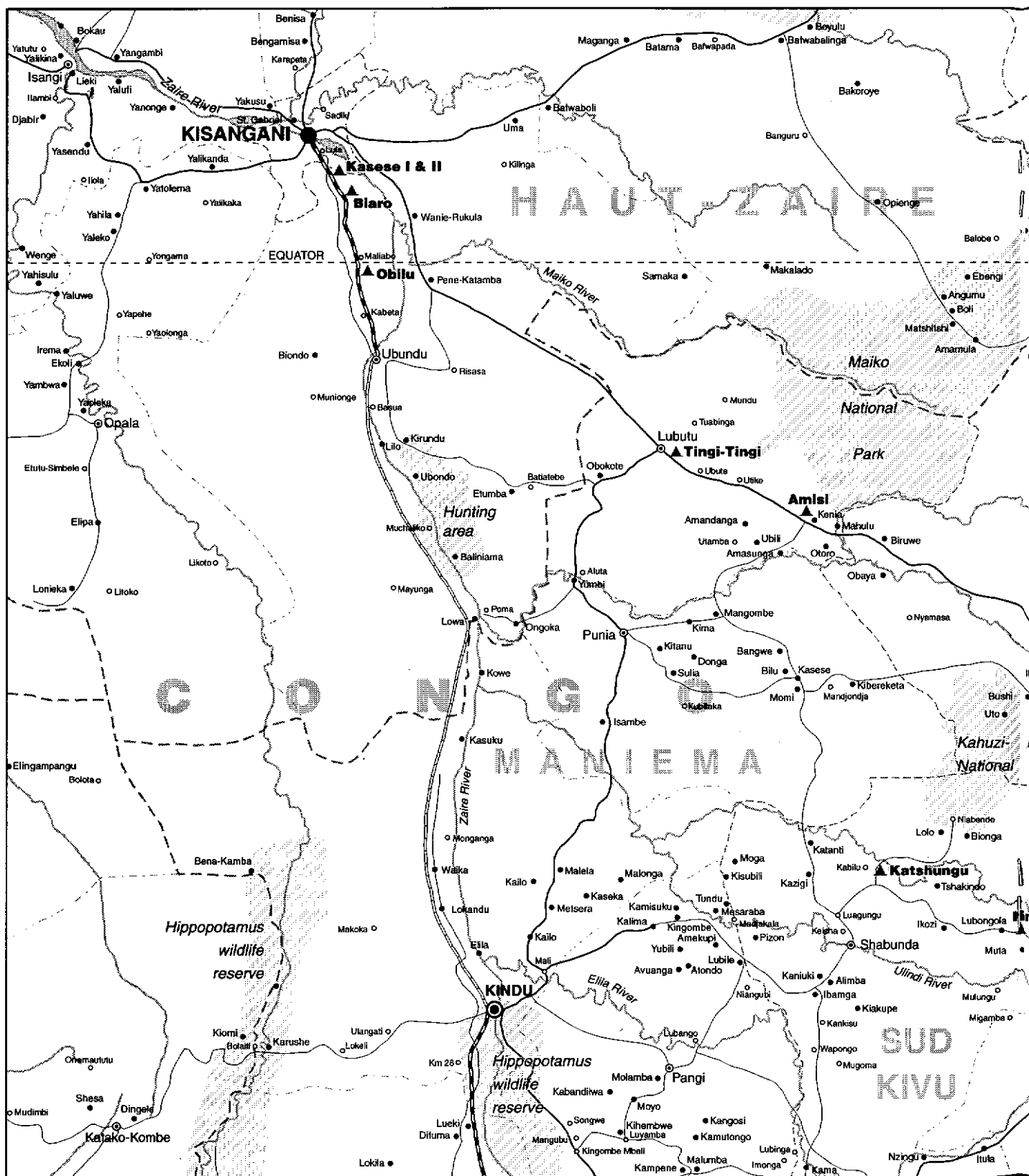
Amnesty International has serious concerns about the role played by the international community, in particular UNHCR, in condoning the mass *refoulement* of refugees to Rwanda by neighbouring countries. To a greater or lesser extent, UNHCR has cooperated in repatriation operations from Burundi, Zaire and Tanzania.

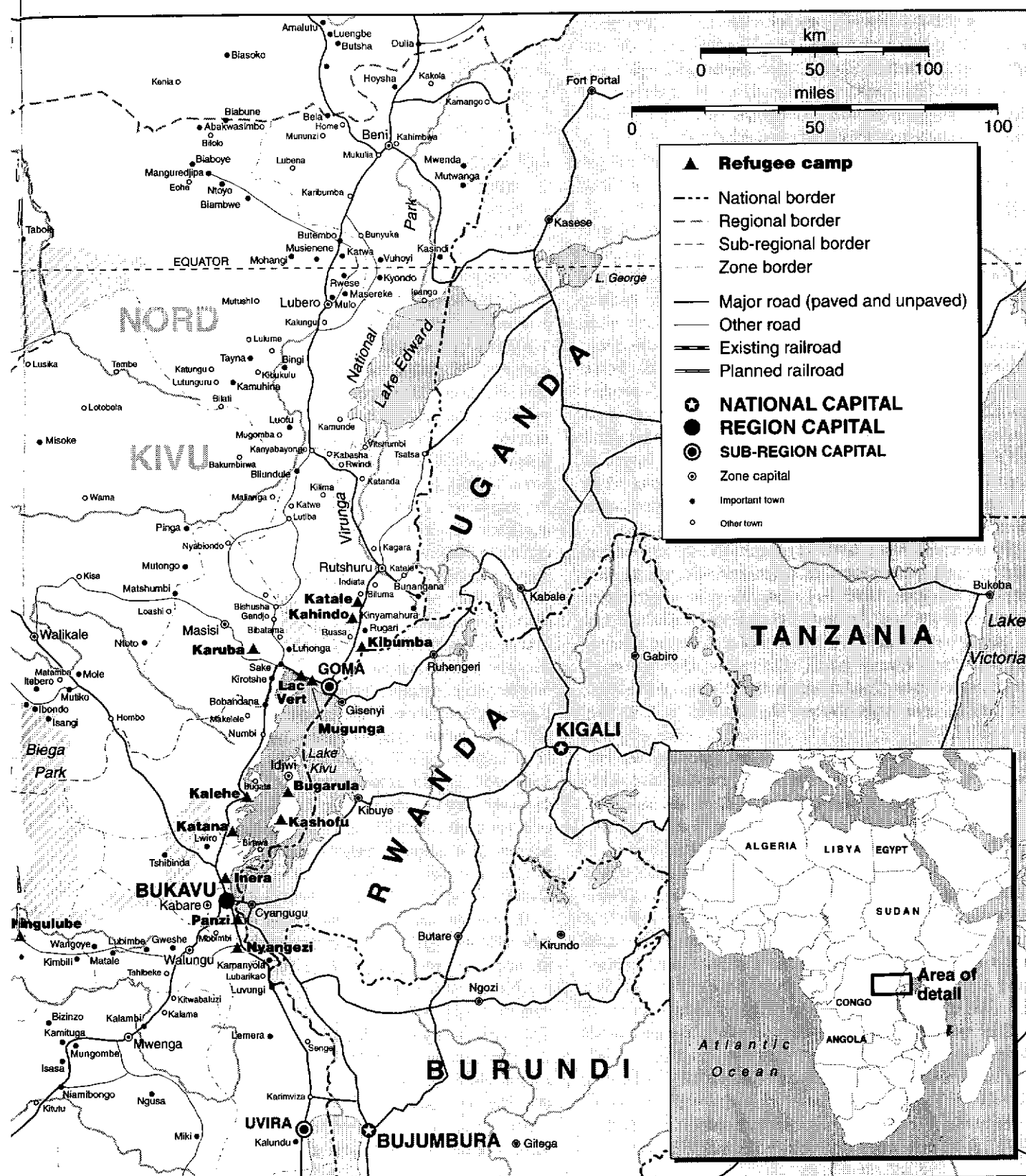
UNHCR's statute entrusts it with the role of protecting refugees and assisting governments with voluntary repatriation. In numerous other documents, including UN General Assembly resolutions and UNHCR Executive Committee conclusions, the importance of ensuring that repatriation is genuinely voluntary is stressed. UNHCR has stated that voluntariness in repatriation plays a critical role in the protection of refugees. UNHCR's involvement in the repatriation from Tanzania, in particular, contravenes this basic principle.

Central to the policy of UNHCR and other intergovernmental organizations has been an assessment of the human rights situation in Rwanda which does not take into account all the available information. Amnesty International believes that UNHCR, while acknowledging the occurrence of human rights violations in Rwanda, has continued to declare that it is generally safe for refugees to return and has played down the level of risks which some returnees may face. UNHCR's assessment appears to be based on reports produced by the UN Human Rights Field Operation for Rwanda (UNHRFOR) as well as by the UNHCR's own field offices. Some UNHRFOR reports include detailed information about human rights violations, but this is not reflected in the public

FIGURE 1

Selected refugee camps in eastern Congo





statements of UNHCR. This failure to acknowledge the real level of human rights violations has had dramatic consequences for refugees in neighbouring countries, resulting ultimately in their mass expulsion.

The situation of the refugees from Burundi, who returned to Rwanda in July and August 1996, is often cited—by the Rwandese authorities, foreign governments and UN agencies—as proof that returnees have nothing to fear in Rwanda. While the UNHCR and the UNHCRFOR acknowledged that the initial return in July 1996 of more than 15,000 Rwandese refugees from Burundi was forced, the subsequent return of around 60,000 more refugees in August 1996 was portrayed as voluntary.

Amnesty International believes that the vast majority of the refugees in Burundi had shown little willingness to return until several were threatened with violence by the Burundi security forces, five were shot dead by Burundi soldiers outside a refugee camp, and more than 15,000 of their compatriots were forcibly returned by the Burundi authorities, with the full cooperation of the Rwandese authorities. Some refugees were reportedly told that they would be arrested in Burundi if they refused to return. About 30 of them were already in detention, where they had been subjected to torture and ill-treatment. Previously, in April 1996, the leader of Magara refugee camp had “disappeared” after being taken towards the border. It is thought that he may have been killed by the Burundi security forces.

Amnesty International deeply regrets that under pressure from the authorities in Rwanda, neighbouring countries, and donor governments, UNHCR has sacrificed basic principles of refugee protection. Amnesty International hopes that this shift in policy will not set a precedent for the future protection of refugees from Rwanda or from any other country.

Footnote 1: See Amnesty International's report, *Rwanda: Alarming resurgence in killings* (12 August 1996, AI Index: AFR 47/13/96)

Footnote 2: See Amnesty International's reports, *Rwanda and Burundi—The return home: rumours and realities* (February 1996, AI Index AFR 02/01/96) and *Rwanda: Arming the perpetrators of the genocide* (June 1995, AI Index AFR 02/14/95).

Footnote 3: See Amnesty International reports, *Zaire—Hidden from scrutiny: human rights abuses in eastern Zaire* (19 December 1996, AI Index AFR 62/29/96), *Zaire: Violent persecution by state and armed groups* (29 November 1996, AI Index AFR 62/26/96), and *Zaire: Lawlessness and insecurity in North and South Kivu* (November 1996, AI Index AFR 62/14/96).

Footnote 4: See *Rwanda: Memorandum to the Rwandese Government. Amnesty International's concerns and recommendations for fair trials in Rwanda* (March 1996, AI Index TG AFR 47/96/09).

Footnote 5: See Amnesty International Urgent Action 258/96, 8 November 1996 (AI Index AFR 47/25/96).

Footnote 6: In the special law to try genocide suspects adopted on 30 August 1996, the accused are divided into four categories. Category 1 includes those who played a leading role in planning and organizing the genocide, as well as others who held positions of authority at the national or local levels, in political parties, in the military and militia, and religious leaders. If found guilty, Category 1 defendants will face the death penalty.

* * * *

G. Feb. 25, 1997. The following eyewitness report, covering the period from November 1996 to January 1997, is released by a spokesman for the Belgian Foreign Ministry, at a press conference in Brussels.

Summary of Document 1

1. The majority of refugees have not returned to Rwanda. A minimum of 450,000 have returned, out of a total of 1,103,000. Those who were able to return came from the camps of Mugunga and Kibumba, which housed between 300,000 and 400,000 refugees. The return was a move in a political game and the cameras of the world were invited to film this “massive return,” which led to the abandonment of the projected international force.

2. The refugees are not fleeing from the fighting but from the massacres. The operation now in progress in Zaire is a new genocide. There are large mass graves all round Goma containing the remains of men, women, and children. The men have their hands tied behind their backs and a single bullet in the head. It is estimated in Goma that several hundreds of thousands of refugees have died since the beginning of the conflict, some of famine and disease, others massacred. Reports of large-scale massacres have come from Masisi and Walikale in particular. As far as the rebels are concerned, the Rwandan refugees are a military target.

3. The refugees are not the only ones under threat. The Hutu population of Zaire, who had nothing to do with the 1994 genocide, are also in danger. At Goma and elsewhere, disappearances are increasing, and every Hutu in a position of importance is on a list of wanted persons. There have been large-scale massacres of civilians in the whole of Masisi.

Document 1

I have put together in this report trustworthy accounts which I can personally vouch for. Because of the gravity of the events reported, and in order not to endanger other people's lives, it has been necessary to keep the report anonymous.

1. How many Rwandan refugees are still in Zaire?

Since the beginning of the conflict there has been a violent argument over the number of refugees still in Zaire. The “rebels” maintain that almost all the refugees have returned. The only ones still in Zaire are members of the old Hutu militia, the Interahamwe, the “ex-FAR” (*Forces Armées Rwanda-*

ises) and the genocides, and these are legitimate objects of our suit. Kigali says that 500,000 refugees have returned.

This battle of statistics is strategic. The aim is to forestall any possible foreign intervention on behalf of refugees still in Zaire, and at the same time to divert to Kigali as much aid as possible for "reconstruction."

The real situation of refugees in Zaire can be calculated from the official figures of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

a. Refugees in the Bukavu region: 316,000

They are spread over the camps of Inera, Kashuana, Nyangezy, Panzi, Kalehe, Katana, Birava, Idjwi Nord (Bugarula) and Idjwi Sud (Kashofu).

b. Refugees in the Goma region: 715,991.

They are spread over the camps of Mugunga/Lac Vert, Kibumba, Katala. There are other camps at Minova, Sake.

c. Refugees in the Uvira region: 180,144

Of these 71,828 are from Rwanda and 117,316 from Burundi.

Total (Uvira, Bukavu, Goma): 1,221,483.

In round figures, we may say that there were 1,220,000 refugees from Rwanda and Surungi in Zaire at the beginning of the war in October 1996.

Not knowing what has happened to the 117,000 refugees from Burundi, I speak only of the 1,103,000 Rwandan refugees. How many have returned to Rwanda?

The only massive return took place from the camp of Mugunga, four miles from Goma. I visited it on Wednesday 30 October, two days before the fall of Goma.

It was described as the biggest refugee camp in the world. I saw the arrival of the people from Kibumba, levelled the day before by the "rebels" coming from Rwanda. I saw many with more or less serious injuries. Some had bullet wounds and others shrapnel wounds. The sick were directed to the different health centres in the camp. The numbers were increasing continually and it was impossible to count them all. I did, however, count 100 wounded on a single site. It is impossible to say how many people were killed on the spot in Kibumba.

In Mugunga therefore there were 500,000 persons, coming from the camps of Mugunga itself, Lac Vert (300,000), and Kibumba (197,000). They provided the refugees who returned on Friday 15, Saturday 16, and Sunday 17 November 1996.

I saw a fairly long column on Friday 15 November and we estimated at Goma that 50,000 people crossed the frontier that day. I saw an extraordinary crowd on the same road the following day and it continued throughout the day. On this Saturday, 16 November, no doubt 200,000 people crossed into Rwanda. On Sunday 17, the numbers were more like those of the Friday and our estimate was again 50,000.

Altogether, therefore, we estimated that between 300,000 and 350,000 refugees returned over these three days, out of the 500,000 who had been in Mugunga. Our figure corres-

ponded with that of a well-known medical NGO.

Four remarks

1. The people I saw were ordinary peasant families. I did not see any of the middle-class families I had known in Mugunga. It is possible that these persons left to go towards Masisi.

2. Three teachers from Goma, who fled with their families to Matanda, on the road to Masisi, when Goma fell, told me that they had seen large numbers of refugees coming from Mugunga during those days passing by Matanda on the road to Masisi.

3. The operation "Liberation Mugunga" took place before the cameras of the world, at the moment when plans for international intervention were in their final stages. Normally, at that period, journalists were only given visas for between two and four hours. They were, however, given complete liberty to film this operation at leisure. These reports were evidently intended for consumption by international public opinion. In fact, the "massive return of refugees" put a stop to the idea of military intervention.

4. In the immense crowd of people who crossed the frontier, there were very few from Katala and Kahindo, and those there were all in the party on Sunday. They were greatly weakened by the long march and were highly vulnerable. We picked up an exhausted young woman who weighed 30 kilos, about four-and-a-half stone. She died two days later.

During the next weeks, comparatively small numbers of people were escorted by the UNHCR to the frontiers of Bukavu (Rusizi) and Goma ("Brande Barriere"). They were for the most part women, children, and old men. There were said to be 80,000 altogether.

It follows that a maximum of 450,000 refugees returned to Rwanda, out of a total of 1,103,000. [Some] 653,000 therefore have not returned and are still in Zaire. It seems that between 200,000 and 250,000 finally reached the camps of Ntingi-Ntingi, Amisi, and Shabunda.

Where, then, are the remaining 400,000, as well as the 117,000 from Burundi?

2. Are the Rwandan refugees fleeing from the fighting or from massacres?

If it was only a question of the war, the Rwandan refugees would have no more reason to flee than would the Zairean population. The truth is that what the Rwandan Hutu are fleeing from, are massacres by the Tutsi "rebels," for whom they are legitimate military targets.

The argument of the rebels is that the refugees who have not returned to Rwanda are mostly genocidalists. It is clear that those who took part in the 1994 genocide could not return to Rwanda, but many innocent people could not return either. The UNHCR has estimated that 7% of the refugees took part in the killings. Educated people, those in the administration, persons of some substance, especially in the towns: All these are afraid of returning.

Many more have been prevented from returning by the

Interahamwe, who wish to use them as a shield. They are in effect hostages, subjected to fear and even physical abuse in the camps. Calling every Hutu refugee a "genocide" [genocidalist] is intended to justify the use of force against the Hutu, even going as far as elimination, in the eyes of international public opinion as well as those of the rebel troops themselves. During the 1994 genocide, the Interahamwe had used a similar tactic, calling the Tutsi "Inyenzi"—cockroaches—so that the killings could be carried out with an easy conscience.

Large numbers of mass graves suggest a wish to have done with the refugees once and for all. This was a military objective from the beginning of the war. These mass graves are everywhere, but they are always hidden and very difficult to approach. To be found by the rebels wandering about these zones means immediate death.

I saw, about an hour and a half's walk above Mugunga, three mass graves containing about 12, 10, and 30 corpses, respectively, of men and women, some of the latter with babies on their backs. There were also old men and children. All had been shot in the head, infants included.

At the end of the camp at Kibumba, on the Rwandan frontier, I saw in the little wood which marks the frontier, three stacks of between 50 and 100 skeletons. These too had bullet holes in the heads. A methodical search would no doubt reveal many more such sites, but no one could risk remaining too long in such a dangerous place.

On 26 November, on the path leading down from the forest above Sake, I found a dying man, abandoned on a makeshift stretcher. The place is five days' walk from the camp of Kahindo, on the Rutshuru road. The man had deep machete wounds in the head, through one of which one could see the brain. We asked him who had done this. "It was the Great Men," he replied. We asked him where were the members of his family, and he said that his wife and all his children had been killed with machetes some days before in the forest by rebels who wanted to prevent them from getting back to Mugunga. His brothers, themselves exhausted, had no longer been able to carry the stretcher and had to leave him. Further up, we found the remains of a camp which had been hastily abandoned. There was the body of a pregnant woman there, with a bullet in the head. She had been unable to flee.

These bodies were scattered along the path which leads down from Kahindo and Katale. On 24 December, two rebels seized two young Zairean Hutus from the village of R. The young men returned two days later after having been severely tortured. They now act as guides to a heavily armed band of between 70 and 100 Tutsi rebels, who have a lorry and a pickup, leading them to the sites of three camps hidden in the forest. "They killed them all, absolutely all, these refugees. Not one escaped," one of these "guides" told me in Swahili. The camps each contained about 100 persons.

Many refugees from Katala are still hiding in the forest of Virunga Park, blocked at the entry and exit by mass graves and military operations. One of these operations took place on

30 January 1996. Some 250 military "rebels" were installed in the old Katale camp to clean it up.

It is difficult to estimate how many refugees are still hiding there, but between Katale and Kahindo there were more than 300,000 refugees, of whom between 30,000 and 80,000 have been able to return to Rwanda.

Many die in the forest, where they live for months on plants and rainwater, when it rains. We found in this forest a young woman completely exhausted and dehydrated. In spite of our efforts, she died in our arms. Higher up, in a hut made of branches, there was the body of a woman who died of exhaustion while giving birth. At her feet was the body of a four-year-old child, no doubt her child, left to die.

Helping these people is regarded by the rebels as helping the enemy, as giving active support to the Interahamwe. It has been said that the refugees in the Zairean forests are after all in their natural habitat. After scores of visits, I am obliged to say that such statements are false. The forests round Goma are on volcanic soil. There are no springs, no game, no fruits, no food of any kind. To oblige the refugees to remain in the forests is to condemn them to death. It is what Mr. Boutros-Ghali called "genocide by starvation."

On 17 December 1996, in the weekly confidential meeting of the leaders of the NGOs, EUB, the local association with the task of collecting the corpses along the Goma/Saks and Goma/Rutshuru tracks, announced that it had already collected 6,537 corpses, 2,743 in the town of Goma itself. EUB is not responsible for collecting bodies in the bush.

When one crosses the little forest after Munigi on the road between Kibumba and Rutshuru, one has to close all the windows of the vehicle to keep out the terrible smell of decomposition. The weeks go by, but the smell remains undiminished, as if it is being continually fed with fresh corpses. Refugees who risked walking along this road to return to Rwanda were diverted into the forest and killed. There are always soldiers on patrol.

A Tutsi rebel made no attempt to hide the reality. At a routine road-block at Rumangabo he told me on 19 December: "These refugees are a plague. If I come across them in the bush I must eliminate them."

On the same day, 19 December, on the road from Tongo and going towards Kalengera, our vehicle was following a small lorry carrying a score of refugees, with four armed rebels. The refugees were crying and weeping. There is a fork in the road where the old road to the right has been cut by a lava flow. It is now a cul-de-sac. The lorry took this way, while we went left along the tarmac road between Rutshuru and Goma. It was about 6:00 p.m., and no doubt these people were being taken to the place of killings.

One can approach the camp of Katale at the level of the small river on the left. One can then pass the camp itself and after walking for about half an hour towards the west, enter the bush. It was here that I saw several large mass graves. One contained about 200 persons, all killed with automatic

weapons. Another a short distance away contained 300; some of these bodies were wrapped in plastic sheets, as if for transport. There were also two other graves of about the same size. There were many women and children with bullet-holes in the head. The men, their hands tied behind them, had similar holes. Our guide, a refugee, told us that there were two other mass graves in the neighbourhood, while others, containing "thousands of bodies," were several hours' walk further into the forest. He offered to take us there, but we felt unable to accept, for security reasons.

On the lava plain behind the camps of Katale and Lahindo leading west, away from Rwanda, there are thousands of skeletons, cut down with machine-guns as they fled. The corpses were covered with plastic sheets and then burned in an attempt to dispose of the remains.

I met in the hospital a refugee being treated for six bullet wounds in the back. He had been left for dead among the corpses but had somehow managed to climb into our organization's vehicle and was evacuated towards Goma. He said that the rebel Tutsi had encircled his area of the camp of Katale. They separated men and women, made them lie face down, and opened fire with machine-guns. He could not say how many died, but such an area in the camps could include 2,000 or 3,000 refugees. This happened at the beginning of November.

I also met at Mugunga a man who had kept a little diary of his wanderings from the time of the attack on the camp at Katale to that on Mugunga. This record was also collected by a well-known medical NGO. The man describes how they left Katale amid heavy firing from light and heavy arms, and fled towards the forest in a panic. There more rebels were waiting. They turned back towards Katale, and there were the rebels again. This happened three times before his own group managed to find a free path. Before each attack, the group of refugees to which he belonged was under surveillance from a small reconnaissance plane.

Five hours' walk above Mugunga towards the north, in the direction of Katale through the forest, behind the volcano Nyaragongo, there was a small camp containing 50 refugees. They included 17 persons who had escaped from a massacre at Kahindo. The 3,500 persons who lived in their area of the camp had been encircled by soldiers who were at first friendly. They escorted the refugees towards Rwanda, but by a side-road. Once in the bush, the rebels opened fire, killing everyone except the 17 who, out of their minds, no longer wanted to return to Rwanda. The 17 included a small boy who had lost his parents and seven brothers.

At Tundo I met a peasant who told me that a month before all these events started, there were already Tutsi soldiers in Tundo and they were paying peasants in American dollars to dig deep ditches well hidden in the bush.

In a Goma dispensary, I met a girl of 12 suffering from severe burns down half of her body. She had come from Bukavu. As they fled they were attacked. She and her mother

were rolled in plastic sheets which were set on fire. Her mother died. On 24 December I met in Goma a young Rwandan man from the Idjwi camps. His actual camp was Bugarula and the people tried to escape by canoe across the lake to reach the slopes of Nyabibwe. They were too late. The rebels were waiting for them. They drowned with their own hands his parents, brothers, and sisters. He alone escaped and was able to swim back and reach Goma. He seems now to have returned to Rwanda.

We helped to direct refugees from Bukavu travelling from Sake to Goma. Along with all the other organizations present, we were struck by the fact all the refugees were either old men, women, or girls. It was later explained to me at Nyabibwe that the rebels carried out a selection before allowing the refugees to come out of the forest. Every boy of 10 years or more was killed. Only women and old men were allowed to pass. This was confirmed by Canal Africa in an issue of 23 January. Only 30% of the refugees who returned to Rwanda were men, and they were old.

At the beginning of November at Burhala, in the region of Bukavu, Father Jean-Claude Buhendwa, a young Mushi priest ordained in August of this year, was cut down when he tried to interpose himself between the rebels and a group of refugees, most of them families who had fled from the camp of Kashusha and were making for Ngweshe. The Red Cross counted more than 600 victims at this spot, but another priest who accompanied his *confrère* and managed to hide in a banana-plantation declared that more than 2,000 were killed. It should be added that peasants were obliged to bury in hastily dug graves as many bodies as possible before the Red Cross arrived.

I could multiply the examples. I have restricted myself to events concerning which we have eyewitnesses. But I have never had access to the whole zone of Masisi, nor to that of Walikale. The rebels will not allow foreigners into these areas, but the reports reaching us suggest that there too there is a deliberate policy of finishing off the refugees.

It seems that the biggest massacres took place in the zone of Walikale where, according to a trustworthy witness, "tens of thousands of refugees have been eliminated."

One is struck by the similarity of all these stories. From north to south, the same methods have been systematically planned and executed.

On the day after the fall of Goma, the offices of the UNHCR and of the Development Bank of the Great Lakes were raided and all sensitive material was removed, especially computer material. All the lists of refugees were taken off towards Gisenyi, along with confidential information which the refugees had agreed to supply in order to continue to receive food rations.

On 20 December 1996 I spoke to a leading official of the UNHCR and reproached him for not denouncing the killings. He replied: "We know that refugees are being killed by tens of thousands in the forest, but what can we do? We are not an



A man in an unidentified refugee camp south of Kisangani, Zaire.

army. It is for the intervention force to act." Refugees then being killed by the tens of thousands. *It is in general estimated at Goma that hundreds of thousands of refugees have died, most of them massacred, but others dead of hunger, exhaustion, sickness, thirst.*

This may be the real explanation why, of the 653,000 Rwandan refugees who have not returned home, between 200,000 and 250,000 are at Tingi-Tingi, Amisi, and Shabunda. Again, I do not speak of the 117,00 refugees from Burundi.

With the inexorable advance of the rebel troops towards Lubutu, it is becoming more and more probable that the number of refugees will be swelled still further by people from the towns of Shabunda, already fallen today, and Tingi-Tingi. The humanitarian organizations have already fled. The camp of Tingi-Tingi has probably been surrounded for several days and it will then be "cleansed," to use the expression of Mr. Kabila. Will the problem of the 1994 genocide then be finally settled? It is by no means certain, for those regarded as the principal genocides [genocidalists]—the Interahamwe, the ex-Rwandan Army and the ex-presidential guard—are young and strong. They can run quickly and disappear into the bush when under attack.

The refugees who are being massacred are not the killers. They are families who, hoping to find safety in numbers, flee in groups for the sake of their children.

3. The Hutu population of Zaire under threat

Immediately after their entry into Goma on 1 November 1996, the Tutsi troops set about looking for Zairean soldiers and Hutu refugees. Every refugee was called "Interahamwe"

and was liable to be killed.

This scenario rapidly became farcical. A Zairean Hutu family which I knew well had to get rid of a child of eight who had been adopted by the family when he was six at the time of the exodus of Rwandans in 1994. Two rebel soldiers came to the family and accused it of harbouring an Interahamwe.

Very soon too the Zairean Hutu themselves became targets. These were not regarded as Interahamwe but as "Magrivi," members of a Hutu Association on the pattern of the different tribal friendly associations which were established after the National Conference. These associations were often the vehicles of tribal ideas, especially since the tensions in Rwanda and the subsequent war.

The Hutu community in North Kivu, in which Goma is situated, is estimated at between 500,000 and 700,000. There have been many disappearances, especially from Goma itself.

In Goma, the ones in particular danger are those who have studied or have some property or influence.

Rafael M. is on the list of wanted persons because he has contacts in Europe where he studied. These contacts make him dangerous so he must be disposed of. When he could not be found, the rebels began to look for his wife. She was hidden by friends, but for how long?

H. is an elderly Hutu who used to be a [—] at Birambizo, in Masisi. He lived in the Mabanga quarter of Goma. Armed soldiers came looking for him three times in daylight. Seven others, heavily armed, knocked on his door at midnight on 17 December and called out his name. He refused to respond and kept his children quiet. Angered at their failure, the soldiers

turned on his neighbour, a young Hutu of 19, who kept a little shop. They sacked the shop and shot the young man in the head. R. has now moved house and lives in fear.

M. is a Hutu businessman and he has a Toyota pickup for his work. On the afternoon of 12 January, soldiers arrived and offered to buy his Toyota for \$1,000. M. refused, partly because the price offered was ridiculous and partly because he needed the vehicle for his livelihood. The soldiers left. They returned at 8 p.m. and broke down the door. M. had just time to leave by the back door, leaving his son of 20 in the kitchen. The soldiers shot and killed him.

Many people have disappeared during the night, some in daylight. Most of them are never seen again, but some return after having been beaten and warned. Some are picked up and released and then picked up again, this time never to be seen again. Witnesses on the frontier speak of many vehicles travelling toward Rwanda at night when the frontiers are closed. Some Hutu are killed in Zaire itself, probably on the road to Rutshuru, on either side of the road in the bush of Munigi.

These disappearances have assumed particularly disquieting proportions in recent weeks. This is especially so in Goma and Rutshuru, but the same thing is happening in Bukavu also, where the remaining Hutu who have gone into hiding are targeted, whether they are Rwandan or Zairean. Also targeted are Zaireans who have worked for the refugees in an NGO, for example. It is estimated that four or five persons disappear every night in Bukavu. The estimate for Goma is slightly higher.

The Hutu are being hunted down in the towns, but the really massive hunt is taking place in Masisi, where there is a substantial Hutu community, easily identifiable because its members tend to live together in villages. There has been war in Masisi since the exodus from Rwanda in 1994, when the Hutu turned on the local Tutsi and the Hunde. There were massacres, as at Mokoto in April 1996, and finally all the Tutsi left.

The rebels have responded by systematic massacres on their own. A band came from Rwanda to Jomba and killed everyone they came across. These were mostly mothers and children, the young people having fled. Among those murdered was the mother and little sister of R. The wave of summary executions went on for about three weeks from the beginning of November. The parish priest, well known as a moderate man, was picked up with five religious Sisters in charge of the secondary institute in Jomba. All were seen being taken towards the frontier with Uganda at Bonagana. They were never seen again.

In the village of Chanzu, in the Jomba area, the people were called to a political meeting to hear the programme of the new government. Once the meeting had begun, the doors were closed and the people were all killed with blows on the head from the small Rwandan hoe (agafuni). Neighbouring villagers counted 207 dead. The bodies were thrown head first into common graves or into latrines.

The same thing happened in all the sectors of Masisi: Matanda, Nyakariba, Birambizo, Katwe, Bibwe, Rutshuru, Rugari. At Birambizo, a rebel soldier was injured by a Hutu fighter at the beginning of January. Soldiers encircled the village and assembled the whole population on the square in front of the church. The children were then separated from their parents and killed in front of them, the bodies being thrown behind the church. Parents had to pay three dollars to recover a body for burial. Most of the peasants could not find the money.

In a number of places the massacres have been accompanied by acts of sacrilege. Two young Hutu priests were killed at Nyakariba on 24 December 1996, and during the following days rebels were seen walking about in their albs. The tabernacle at Jomba was machine-gunned. Similar tales have come from Bukavu and Panzi.

Everywhere religious and their families are especially targeted because they are regarded as having influence in society. Their names are high on the lists which circulate in Goma. In this way a religious Sister lost 18 members of her family at Matanda and another 15 at Nyakariba. The existence of these lists is confirmed by those close to the new regime in Goma. It was communicated to me in a confidential conversation on 23 January.

This cleansing is more than the kind of settling of accounts with which we are familiar in all wars, when the victors spend their first days eliminating their former adversaries. The Hutus are systematically targeted, both moderates and extremists, as the lists make clear.

Conclusion: How is the silence of the media to be explained?

The reader may well wonder why so few of the events reported here find their way into the international press. There are a number of reasons for this silence.

1. The press regarded the refugee problem as settled after the massive return from Mugunga on 15, 16, and 17 November. Very few journalists were found in Goma or Bukavu after that event. The focus of interest shifted to Tanzania, where another massive return was in preparation.

Media competition means that different organs seek to outdo each other in issuing figures, some of which are pure fantasy. G. Perez, for example, of Radio France Internationale, spoke of 400,000 refugees waiting in town on the evening of Saturday 16 to cross the frontier the following day. This figure is twice the total population of the town. I was present myself, and put the number at not more than 25,000.

2. The rebels believe, with good reason, that the war is being fought as much in the media as on the battlefield, for it is in Europe and North America that the alliances decisive for military success have to be formed. Access to sensitive zones is strictly controlled.

On Friday, [—] November, when the battle was raging in Goma, Major David, of the rebel troops, ordered all journal-

ists and members of organizations to leave the quarters of the UNHCR where they had gathered.

Very few expatriates remained in Goma. The town was strewn with corpses. More than 2,500 were counted. Meanwhile, all the journalists were on the frontier and were forbidden to return until the bodies had been buried, an operation that took four days. Then they all returned, headed by CNN, and queued up to film a decomposing body in military uniform left at the Signers roundabout.

The road to Mugunga was closed until the "liberation" of the camp when, as we have seen, the world's cameras were invited.

The road to Rutshuru was closed to all Westerners until 6 December 1996, although Zaireans were allowed to pass. Access to the camps of Kibumba, Katale, and Kahindo, containing some 500,000 refugees, is along this road. It is known that these camps were bombarded, but no one knows what has happened to the refugees in Katale and Kahindo. No journalist has been allowed to go beyond Sake to get to Masisi or Walikale. These are the roads taken by the refugees making for Kisanjani.

All that the journalists can do is to broadcast literally official communiqués issued by the military headquarters. We learned during the Gulf War that a 20th-century war must be fought above all in the media. The rebels distribute very well-composed press releases, full of certified statistics.

3. Eyewitnesses will not speak, except under cover of anonymity. Otherwise, they risk death or expulsion, and endanger the people on the spot.

Journalists who try and get information outside official channels know that they are being watched, and they submit their articles to the new authorities for approval before publication. They already run great dangers by their simple presence in such situations. It is very difficult to obtain crucial information from the population. If journalists try to interview someone in a crowd in public, there is always someone listening in. The people know it and keep their mouths shut.

All this makes the collection of objective information very difficult; in spite of the extreme gravity of the situation, witnesses have to be very careful what they say.

I was surprised to learn, through top-level political contacts in Europe, that governments are well aware of the real situation, even if not always of the extent of the atrocities.

In mid-December, General Baril declared at Sake that there was no longer a single Rwandan refugee left in Zaire. Who could possibly believe him, when he had just spent half a day on the road from Masisi in a rebel officer's car? Did he not meet a single refugee on that notorious road? It was this declaration which sealed the fate of the Multinational Force and led to thousands of deaths. How could the General not have known the reality?

Diplomatic considerations and the silence of the media combine to produce inaction.

Everyone knows what is happening, but no one will say. Meanwhile the refugees are dying, women and children first.

—Composed in Europe on 19 February 1997

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H. March 24, 1997. The following is excerpted from an Amnesty International memorandum to the UN Security Council, and is titled "Appeal for a commission of inquiry to investigate reports of atrocities in eastern Zaire."

... 2. Human rights violations and the failure of refugee protection in eastern Zaire

While exact numbers are not known, it is clear that since October 1996, thousands of refugees, Zairean Hutu and others, have been killed in Zaire or have died from starvation and disease after being forced into hiding in isolated forests. Thousands of refugees have been forced back or have "chosen" to return to Burundi or Rwanda, where serious human rights violations continue and are escalating—with returnees frequently among the victims. Several hundred thousand other refugees and displaced Zaireans fled west, further into Zaire. Some remained hidden, others settled in makeshift camps at Shabunda, Amisi, Tingi-Tingi, and Ubundu. . . .

3. Reports of human rights abuses by the AFDL

As the number of reports grow, the full extent of abuses is beginning to emerge. There is mounting evidence that the AFDL has carried out a deliberate campaign of arbitrary killings and attacks of refugees who have refused or been too afraid to go back to Rwanda and of Zairean Hutu, particularly males of fighting age. Many of the reports are from known, credible sources. Many remain unconfirmed. Fighting groups accused of these crimes and their sympathisers have repeatedly denied these allegations, which are too grave to be ignored. . . .

It is not known how many refugees and Zairean Hutu have been killed. Some sources have been able to provide precise figures. In other instances, only rough estimates are available. For example, a Zairean group responsible for burying corpses indicated in mid-December that they had collected 6,537 bodies in the Goma, Sake, and Rutshuru areas. The UNHCR has said that 1,515 bodies were recovered at Kibumba camp, and has found a mass grave at Katale camp containing 300 bodies. The Association zairoise de défense des droits de l'homme (AZADHO), Zairean Association for the Defence of Human Rights, has reported that thousands of Zairean Hutu have been killed in the villages of Ngungu, Nyamitaba, and Nyakariba. A foreign aid worker has reported to Amnesty International that 300 refugees were allegedly killed in the parish of Kalambi.

Reports of mass graves, in camps and elsewhere throughout North and South Kivu, are coming to light. Witnesses have, for example, reported to Amnesty International and other human rights organizations that there are numerous

graves, containing large numbers of bodies, in and around Kibumba, Katale, and Kahindo. Most are reported to have been killed by a bullet to the head. Many have their hands tied behind their backs. Some have been covered in plastic sheeting and set on fire. One journalist reportedly found numerous bodies in a latrine on a recent visit to the deserted Kibumba camp (see footnote 2).

Amnesty International has received credible reports from a variety of sources describing how fleeing unarmed refugees were pursued, intercepted, and attacked by the AFDL. Some were killed, while others were forced back to Rwanda and Burundi. However, no one has a comprehensive view of how many have been killed or where, or how many may be dying from their injuries, starvation, or disease while in hiding. The AFDL has not allowed independent witnesses near the areas where the killings are reported.

Mass graves and killings of refugees and Zairean Hutu have been reported in territory controlled by the AFDL, including a grave on a coffee plantation in Sake said to contain the bodies of hundreds of refugees killed in November 1996 and more than 20 graves in and around Goma. There are reported to have been a number of massacres by AFDL forces in Hutu villages in the Masisi region following reports of ex-FAR and Interahamwe coming into the villages for food. Marauding ex-FAR and Interahamwe militia have reportedly attacked Zairean villagers for food or on suspicion of supporting the AFDL. These incidents have claimed as many as 170 victims in a single attack.

Arrests, torture, deliberate and arbitrary killings, and "disappearances" of prominent or educated Hutu continue to be reported, particularly around Goma. For example, a Hutu businessman identified as Muhozi and his wife were reportedly killed on 7 January 1997 by members of the AFDL in Rutshuru. Those targeted are mainly those suspected of belonging to a Zairean Hutu solidarity organization known as Mutuelle des agriculteurs de Virunga (MAGRIVI). For example, Jean de Dieu Rusimbuka Balolage was reportedly arrested by members of the AFDL in Goma on 19 December 1996. He was severely beaten and lost two teeth. He was released after local people pleaded that he had not been a supporter of the ex-FAR. He subsequently went into hiding and is reported to have fled the country. Others such as Kalinda Rukeribuga and Kapitene Kabunga are reported to have been "disappeared," after being arrested by members of the AFDL. It is feared that they may have been killed.

The Vatican has announced that eight Rwandese priests and three Habizemaria congregation nuns, all thought to be Hutu refugees, were killed on 25 February 1997 in Kalima, two days after the town had been taken by AFDL forces. One priest, Joseph Sagahutu, apparently escaped but his whereabouts are unknown. The victims had fled to Kalima from Bukavu. The eight priests are: Antoine Hategekimana, Emmanuel Munyakazi, Jean Uwizeyimana, Norbert Mulimo, Francois-Xavier Muyobokeye, Urbain Twagirayezu, Etienne

Kabera, and Augustin Nkulikyumukiza. The three nuns, who were previously student nurses at Walungu Nursing School in Bukavu, are: Marie-Francine Nyirarukundu, Félicité Mukamihogo, and Clotilde Nyirabakungu. There are fears that some of the 15,000 refugees camped at Kalima at the time may also have been killed. A further 33 priests and at least eight Benedikira congregation nuns who fled in November 1996 with other Rwandese refugees from INERA and Kasusha camps have "disappeared," and it is feared that they too may have been killed.

... Footnote 2: Colette Braeckman, "Ces cadavres dans le sillage des rebelles zairois," *Le Soir* (Bruxelles) 26/02/97.

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I. May 1, 1997. The Rally for Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda releases, "Too Little, too late for the Rwandan refugees in eastern Zaire."

The last broken pieces of the latest episode in the implementation of the plan to break any political, economic, or intellectual, or military threat to the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) regime in Kigali are being swept, picked up, and dumped in Rwanda, under the United Nations exercise of repatriating the surviving Rwandan refugees.

The latest episode, rightly called the Final Solution, started with the attack on Rwandan refugee camps, under the protection of the United Nations, at the end of October 1996. This attack on refugee camps by a combined force of Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandan forces, as pointed out in earlier statements, had been initially planned for June 1996, but was rescheduled after the plan was leaked. Some reshuffling was undertaken, to bring in the Zairean "rebellion" of Laurent Desiré Kabila, so as to give the operation a Zairean face.

According to very reliable information, the plan was seen and approved by the Pentagon and British intelligence services. This is why all attempts to bring in an international intervention force were foiled by the American and British governments.

Out of the 1,200,000 refugees who were in eastern Zaire, the most optimistic P.R. figures, and the figures used by the UN High Commissioner of Refugees, put the number of those who returned to Rwanda at 500,000. The world was forced to accept that the majority of refugees had returned home. The notion was forced down the throat of the world, that fewer than 200,000 refugees were staying in Zaire, too few to warrant wasting resources on saving them, according to those who were opposing the idea of an international intervention force.

As it was impossible to believe that such simple arithmetic could elude anybody ($1,200,000 - 500,000 = 700,000$, not 200,000), the only logical explanation was either that the proponents of such assertions were sure that the 500,000 refugees unaccounted for, had already been killed by the combined Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandan forces, or that intervention was being forestalled until the rising death toll had re-

duced the number of survivors in fact to that number.

Indeed, it now seems that the surviving refugees, who are little more than ghosts, are less than that number—before intervening in another way, like the present one of airlifting the remaining ghosts. The world is now busy looking for funds to deliver them to the RPF. It is highly probable that many will die in Rwandan jails, while others will be left to die licking their wounds.

According to theorists of the "Final Solution" to end any threat to RPF power, it was deemed necessary to eliminate the Hutu intelligentsia, professionals, former politicians, prominent businessmen in Zaire, and break the backbone of the former Armed Forces. This seems to have been accomplished. This is calculated to give the RPF military oligarchy an upper hand on the military, economic, and intellectual levels.

In Tingi-Tingi, many refugees had asked the UNHCR to arrange their repatriation, but this had been purely and simply ignored. *The hidden agenda is alleged to have been that it was felt that the number of refugees was still too high for the RPF regime and its backers.* It was also believed that they had not been weakened enough, and could still have constituted a threat to the Kigali regime and to the pilot transporting them.

Those who escaped from the net in Tingi-Tingi, Zaire, and landed in Nairobi, have so far not been acknowledged by the UNHCR office in Nairobi. The mopping-up exercise is said to be in the offing. It will consist of assassinating those who escaped through the net, and were outside the camps in Tanzania or Zaire. Kenya is likely to be the next point of attention for the RPF death squads. It is important to recall that one Ntare Peter, RPF agent, was caught up in one of the Estates in Nairobi in possession of Kenyan police uniforms, handcuffs, and 91 rounds of ammunition of various calibres.

What is happening now is another test of political will of the international community to play a fair and equitable game. *As was done both in Rwanda and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, an international commission of inquiry should be put in place, and a tribunal set up, to try those who are responsible for crimes of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity committed against Rwandan refugees in eastern Zaire.* The international community, particularly the United Nations, has to dispel serious allegations that what is happening in eastern Zaire was an internationally planned genocide against the Hutu population.

The surviving refugees who are being served up to the RPF authorities in Rwanda should be followed up, to make sure that their rights are respected, and a special programme should be set up to assist the traumatized and helpless children.

What is being tried now is just too little, too late, because these people would have been saved if the backers of the RPF government had accepted the idea of an international humanitarian intervention force to create safe corridors for the safe return of refugees back to Rwanda.

The Rwandan people may not have the resources or the

might to fight the injustice meted out to them, but *sooner or later history will judge those who were behind, or condoned, the horrendous crimes committed against the Hutu population.*

—For the RDR,

—Chris Nzabandora, spokesman

* * * *

J. May 9, 1997. The following paper, titled "Humanitarian Space in Eastern Zaire," was prepared by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

1. This paper is based on extensive consultations with the humanitarian community on the current humanitarian situation in eastern Zaire. It is hoped that its analysis and conclusions will encourage governments to take a series of actions to ensure respect for humanitarian principles and human rights as established in humanitarian law. Without this, the provision of assistance and protection to the victims of the conflict will continue to be sporadic and lives will continue needlessly to be lost.

2. The humanitarian tragedy in Zaire takes place within a context of political change. Its consequences effect that change. Respect for international conventions and international humanitarian law must be encouraged on the side of the parties to the conflict, not least as a contribution to the process of reconciliation, without which the lives of those in the region will remain in jeopardy.

3. Rules of international humanitarian law (IHL) pertinent to the situation prevailing in Zaire are binding on all parties to the conflict. The rules state, in particular, that all persons taking no active part in the hostilities shall, in all circumstances, be treated humanely: violence to life and persons, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture, as well as extra-judicial executions, are prohibited at any time.

4. Humanitarian programmes are conducted according to certain fundamental principles, and within a context established by international humanitarian law. These principles include the opportunity for humanitarian agencies to have independent access to those in need of assistance and protection to carry out independent assessments of needs, and to monitor the distribution of assistance. Respect for the underlying principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence is central to the way in which humanitarian agencies carry out their responsibilities.

5. These principles and the related entitlements of humanitarian agencies for independent access were the subject of an agreement between agencies and the AFDL, on 12 November 1996 (as set out in an Aide Memoire) and reaffirmed in a meeting between UN representatives and Mr. Kabila on 16 February 1997. Current circumstances require this agreement to be renewed, extended, and affirmed as the basis of a new relationship between humanitarian agencies and the AFDL.

6. From the outset, humanitarian operations in eastern Zaire were constrained by difficulties of access. The conflict between the government of Zaire and the AFDL had an inevitable impact upon the possibility of agencies to reach those in need. With the acceleration of the conflict in January 1997, access—on both sides of the line of confrontation—became more problematic. The provision of assistance and of protection in areas of conflict is always limited by reasons of security. In general, humanitarian agencies accept the limitations imposed by insecurity upon their capacity to fulfill their mandates. The concern has grown, however, in territory controlled by the AFDL that legitimate arguments about security are being misused, and that access is being denied to allow human rights abuses and violations of International Humanitarian Law to take place with impunity.

7. In recent weeks, this concern has been exacerbated by a series of events in which access has been denied and humanitarian aid workers have been attacked. The most notorious of these events have taken place in the axis south-west of Kisangani, where assistance to some 80,000 refugees and to Zaireans in the area has been severely limited. On 21 April, a food warehouse at Kasese was looted and a train carrying aid workers and humanitarian supplies was attacked south of Lula. A few days later, the camps at Kasese and at Biaro were attacked and up to 55,000 refugees dispersed, with many killed. Access to those areas has continued to be restricted, with AFDL commanders citing arguments of insecurity to prevent aid workers reaching those in need.

8. On April 28, a hospital at Lwiro, north of Bukavu, was attacked and 50 children abducted with medical staff badly beaten up. These children have since been returned. Access along the routes west of Bukavu to Shabunda has always been difficult, even though less well reported in the media. Equally, there is a great concern for Zaireans in the Masisi area, where many killings have been reported but access has been consistently denied. Of further concern, is the incident which happened on 4 May, during the transportation by train of some 3,000 refugees from the settlement south of Kisangani, in which at least 91 people died from suffocation and 43 were wounded, 20 of them seriously.

9. In sum, humanitarian access in AFDL territory has always been limited, but its denial of late appears to be more systematic, and coincides with reports of attacks on refugees and Zaireans in the conflict area. Indeed, some agencies fear that their efforts to locate those in need of assistance and protection may have led those involved in the killing to their targets. The result is that some agencies are obliged to reconsider whether their assistance is of value or whether, indeed, it makes them unwitting accomplices in the killings.

Violations of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law

10. Allegations of human rights abuses and violations of International Humanitarian Law in AFDL-controlled territory surfaced in November 1996. It was alleged that Rwan-

dan refugees, and particularly male refugees, but also women and children, were being killed. While it must be noted that these allegations were made within a context in which a percentage of those refugees were said not to be "legitimate," or "genuine" refugees, but were claimed to be perpetrators of the genocide that took place in Rwanda in 1994.

11. Investigation of these allegations is in the hands of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights subsequent to Resolution 1997/58 of 15 April 1997. The investigation remains stalled, due to a reluctance on the part of the AFDL to allow the chosen team to perform its task. . . .

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K. May 16, 1997. The report excerpted here is issued by the group *Medicins Sans Frontières—Doctors Without Borders*. We omit footnote citations.

Forced flight: A brutal strategy of elimination in eastern Zaire

Introduction

During late October/November 1996, troops of the *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire* (AFDL) attacked refugee camps in Eastern Zaire. In the camps, former members of the *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (referred to as ex-FAR) and Interahamwe had been living among the refugees, using the camps as a base for cross-border operations and intimidating the majority of the camp population. As a result of the attacks, humanitarian organizations were forced to leave Uvira on 22 October 1996, Bukavu on 28 October 1996, and Goma on 2 November 1996. These attacks marked the beginning of a period during which refugees, internally displaced Zaireans, and local populations suffered a steady deterioration of their humanitarian situation. Throughout this period, they have been victims of serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, including intimidation, ill-treatment, and killings, as well as the denial of adequate protection and assistance. Until the present time, their plight continues.

According to UNHCR data and other unpublished estimates, there were more than 1.2 million Rwandan and Burundian refugees in the Zairean camps at the outset of the AFDL attacks. At least 900,000 returned to their countries of origin. It is estimated that over 340,000 remained in Zaire, hiding in the hills and forests of the Kivu region, in areas controlled by the AFDL, or fleeing northwest, ahead of the advancing front-line.

1. After several weeks during which the whereabouts of those who fled west remained unknown, groups of refugees resurfaced in mid-December, and makeshift camps were set up at Tingi-Tingi and Amisi. In February 1997, the AFDL attacked and emptied the camps at Tingi-Tingi and Amisi. Most refugees forced out of Tingi-Tingi and Amisi fled towards Ubundu/Kisangani. Another group took the road to



A woman in an unidentified refugee camp south of Kisangani, Zaire.

Opaia and western Zaire.

2. In mid-January, the AFDL attacked refugee camps that had been set up in Shabunda, South Kivu, in mid-December, reportedly killing thousands of people. Large numbers fled into the forests in the Bukavu-Shabunda area, now under AFDL control. From there, thousands attempted to return to Rwanda on foot. However, it has become increasingly evident that the military in the area is carrying out operations directed at the elimination of refugees, including women and children, under the pretext of military operations against the ex-FAR and Interhamwe.

3. Those who fled to the Masisi region of North Kivu found themselves in an area of long-standing ethnic violence which was exacerbated by the fighting between the AFDL and the *Forces Armées Zairoises* (FAZ). The area continues to be a war zone with clashes between AFDL and supporting groups on one side and coalitions of ex-FAR, Interhamwe, FAZ (also referred to as ex-FAZ), and armed Hutu villagers on the other side. Hutu refugees and local Hutu residents

appear to be coerced and targeted by both sides in the conflict.

... Unless otherwise stated, information contained in this report is based on the direct experience of MSF staff working in the area, as well as information made available to MSF in the field by reliable local and expatriate sources, as reflected in MSF's internal records. ...

1.1 Mid-December 1996 to February 1997:

Tingi-Tingi/Amisi

In mid-December 1996, groups of refugees who had been forced out of the camps in eastern Zaire during AFDL attacks in October and November of that year, and had since been missing, resurfaced. Makeshift camps were set up at Tingi-Tingi and Amisi in West Kivu. MSF estimated the population of the camp at Tingi-Tingi at 80,000 refugees, of whom 12,000 were children younger than five years of age. Amisi camp is believed to have contained 40,000 refugees. Other sources suggest that Tingi-Tingi and Amisi together hold as many as 170,000 refugees.

MSF could deliver assistance at Tingi-Tingi as of the 15th of December, 1996, when basic health facilities were operating. On arrival at Tingi-Tingi, the health status of the refugees was acceptable and was closely monitored up to 7 February 1997, when humanitarian organizations no longer had a permanent presence in the camps because of the proximity of the fighting. The surveillance system showed that the health status of refugees progressively deteriorated, primarily due to the absence of adequate food supplies. Between the first food-distribution day (27 December 1996) and the 24th of January 1997, a daily average of 900 kcal per person was provided to the refugees (UNHCR recommended daily ration: 1900 kcal per person). Lack of food and logistical constraints lay at the heart of the shortage, although the reluctance of international agencies and donors to support the ex-FAR and Interhamwe among the refugee population also contributed to the insufficient supplies. In addition, the available food was not shared equally among refugees, partly due to the influence of the ex-FAR and Interhamwe.

Children suffered disproportionately in relation to their numbers. From the 18th of December 1996, until the 7th of February 1997, MSF registered 1,045 deaths, including 568 (54.5%) among children aged under five. The average mortality rate was 2.5/10,000 people per day. Trends showed a progressive increase of this rate up to 3.3/10,000 people. The average crude mortality rate for children under five was 9.1/10,000 people per day, and progressively increased to 12/10,000 per day. [Some] 616 severely malnourished children were admitted to MSF's feeding centre—11% of them later died—yielding a case fatality rate of 19.2%. On 10 January 1997, eight stool samples were collected from patients with suspected cholera (acute watery diarrhoea and dehydration) and were sent to reference laboratories in Kinshasa and Paris. Six tested positive for *Vibrio cholerae*. By the 7th of February 1997, some 483 cases of suspected cholera had been admitted

to the isolation ward, of which 42 (8.7%) occurred among children younger than five years. Twenty-two of the 483 patients, including six children, died.

By the end of February 1997, the AFDL forces reached Tingi-Tingi. Most refugees fled in the direction of Ubundu. Some 2,200 fled into the forests and eventually returned to Tingi-Tingi and Amisi. During the entire 12-week period of MSF's presence at Tingi-Tingi, 1,811 refugees died. By the end of February, the mortality rate had risen to 4.8/10,000 people per day.

On 22 February 1997, the camp at Amisi also had to be evacuated after being attacked, and most of the estimated 40,000 Amisi refugees fled in the direction of Kisangani.

MSF was allowed to return to Tingi-Tingi and Amisi on the 12th of March 1997. In coordination with the UN and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), MSF attempted to provide medical care to approximately 2,000 refugees in the vicinity, as well as obtain access to the large numbers thought to be scattered in other areas. The refugees arriving at Tingi-Tingi were in a dire medical state requiring immediate emergency intervention. Many suffered from severe dehydration, malaria, diarrhoea, and leg wounds. The majority of the refugees were severely malnourished. Mortality was extremely high, with an average of 10 refugees dying every day. For two weeks, MSF was granted access only for a few hours a day, a few days per week. Access to Amisi was continuously hampered by late departures from Goma airport and cancellations of flights. Permission to land in Tingi-Tingi, where the refugees were in the most vulnerable medical state, was constantly denied on security grounds. Medical teams were forced to travel by road from Amisi, with the result that the working time was confined to absurdly short and irregular periods. Efforts to maintain a constant medical presence by stationing teams in the vicinity were also constrained by a delayed authorization from the AFDL. In addition, expatriate staff were not permitted to stay overnight in the camp. With limitations of access thus making it impossible to deliver adequate assistance—a pattern to be repeated on the Kisangani-Ubundu railway line—MSF's activities were heavily restricted at Tingi-Tingi by the 26th of March 1997. On the 2nd of April 1997, the AFDL closed the camp. A total of 126 refugees died at Tingi-Tingi during the three-week period when MSF was present in the camp. The remaining refugees were airlifted to Goma/Gisenya and from there taken to the transit camp [in Rwanda].

1.2 Late February - mid-April 1997: Ubunda/Kisangani region

After fleeing their camps, most of the Tingi-Tingi and Amisi refugees moved west towards Ubundu, i.e., between 120,000 and 160,000. In late March, it was observed that ex-FAR, Interahamwe, and some civilian refugees separated from the central group at Ubundu (103 km south of Kisangani) and crossed the river, moving on to Opaia (140 km west of

Ubundu). The bulk of the refugees—estimated at 85,000—continued northward towards the town of Kisangani up the railway line.

On the 25th of March 1997, some 15,000 refugees had reached Lula (7 km south of Kisangani). By the next day, their number had increased to 18,000. These refugees were the strongest survivors, who had gone ahead. Between 40,000 and 80,000 further refugees were reported to be at Kasese (25 km south of Kisangani) and Biaro (42 km south of Kisangani).

AFDL announced that those at Lula would not be permitted passage through Kisangani, but would be returned to Ubundu within 48 hours. Eventually, the AFDL appeared to have agreed to force them to move only as far as a location 19 km south of Kisangani, but refugees reportedly suffered harassment from the military. By the end of March, camps were set up at several locations along the railway line. In mid-April, MSF estimated their populations to be the following:

- Kasese 1 (25 km south of Kisangani): 20,000-25,000 people
- Kasese 2 (25 km south of Kisangani): 25,000-30,000 people
- Biaro (42 km south of Kisangani): 20,000-25,000 people
- Obilo (82 km from Kisangani): 600 people, an estimated 3,000-5,000 people in the surrounding area
- Ubundu (103 km from Kisangani): 350 people
- Dispersed along the railway line: a few hundred people.

The state of the refugees who reached the Kisangani region in late March and early April was described as "catastrophic." MSF carried out an assessment mission along the railway line on the 26th and 27th of March 1997, and found the health status of the refugees to be dramatic. Diarrhoea, malnutrition, malaria, respiratory tract infections, as well as severe foot and leg injuries were commonly observed pathologies at all locations. The conditions in the camps were dire: In all of them, refugees suffered from severe overcrowding and lack of clean drinking water and sanitation. At Obilo, 10,000 refugees were reported to be hiding in the forest, traumatized after fighting between the AFDL and ex-FAR on the 25th of March. One hundred survivors of the fighting were dying at the Obilo camp from injuries, diarrhoea, malnutrition, and the lack of proper treatment. On the 31st of March 1997, some 300 refugees were seen at Obilo, all in a very bad state. There were seven to eight deaths per day in that camp. Some refugees at Biaro had also sustained bullet wounds during fighting which took place on 22 March at 52 km [from Kisangani], giving rise to suspicions that some groups of ex-FAR fighters might still be in the area, possibly even still within the refugees.

After initial difficulties, MSF and other humanitarian agencies began providing medical, sanitary, and food assistance in early April. Even so, the conditions in the camps remained appalling and the situation was deteriorating: at Kasese 1 . . . [t]he estimated mortality rate was between 8 and

12/10,000 people per day.

Biaro continued to be the worst affected location of those MSF could access. . . . The situation there continued to be described as "catastrophic." Among its refugee populations were numerous adults, malnourished and without families. Refugees who emerged from the forests were also taken to Biaro. . . . The estimated mortality rate at that camp was 17/10,000 people per day, and rose to 21/10,000 people per day by the 20th of April.

On the 15th of April 1997, MSF staff reported that medical structures were working and functioning very well, and a separate cholera camp had been established at Kasese. Yet, until then the positive impact on refugees seemed to be small. As one staff member put it, for many of them assistance came "*trop tard, bien trop tard*" ["too late, far too late"]. An eyewitness to the events described the situation thus: "Every day you think that it cannot get worse. And every new day, it turns out that it can be worse."

During the first half of April, UNHCR attempted to organize the repatriation of those individuals who were strong enough to be transported. However, this effort was impeded by logistical constraints and lack of cooperation from the AFDL. After MSF set up a separate cholera camp at Kasese, data related to this camp were used by AFDL to spread negative radio messages concerning alleged health risks for the local population as a result of repatriations of infected or sick people. Permission to airlift refugees to Rwanda was subsequently denied.

By mid-April 1997, possibilities for humanitarian assistance were diminishing. . . . On the 20th of April 1997, some 60 deaths per day occurred in the Kasese camp. Some 545 cases of suspected cholera were known, with 50 more being added every day; 437 refugees were hospitalized, 1,200 children were severely malnourished. In Biaro, the situation was even worse: 60 to 74 deaths per day were counted. . . .

1.3 The attacks on camps at Kasese

From the 17th of April 1997, a strong military presence was noticeable in Kisangani. Abuses and threats towards refugees and the local population were a daily occurrence—the number of such incidents was increasing, and they became more and more obvious. It should be noted that MSF did not notice signs of aggression or hostility on the part of the local residents towards the refugees during the first weeks of the latter's presence in the region. The situation appeared to have worsened only after the military influenced the local population. On the night of the 20th of April 1997, villagers attacked a train loaded with food supplied by the World Food Programme after it had been stopped by the military.

On the 20th of April, six Zairean villagers were killed in Kasese. Between the 21st and 23rd of April 1997, the camps at Kasese were attacked. AFDL leader Laurent Kabila put the blame for the attacks on refugees who he claimed had attacked villagers. They denied massacring any of the refugees. Hu-

manitarian organizations did not have access to the camps at all between the 21st and 25th April. However, reports have been received which contradict the AFDL's explanation of events. Thus, refugees who survived the attacks reported that the camps had been surrounded by soldiers and were then attacked by villagers armed with axes and machetes.

On the 23rd of April 1997, UNHCR and journalists were allowed to enter Kasese camp and found it empty—all the refugees, including the sick and 9,000 children, had disappeared. The visit to the camps was cut short by gunfire nearby—which the AFDL claimed was fighting—and it was not possible to take a closer look at the suspected mass graves. On the 28th of April 1997, MSF was permitted to enter Kasese and Biaro camps. All the sanitary infrastructure was gone, as were all the refugees under medical treatment. Before the attacks, MSF had delivered hospital treatment to a total of 1,250 sick refugees in Kasese and Biaro. In the latter camp, where 15,000 of the 35,000 refugees had been assisted by MSF, 5,000 were estimated to have been too sick to walk even small distances. [Some] 6,250 refugees were too weak or ill to flee, and it is unlikely that they could have survived an entire week without medical assistance. MSF has yet to find any living trace of them or their bodies. . . .

In total, some 85,000 refugees had disappeared from the camps at Kasese and Biaro.

1.4 After the attacks

The attacks on Kasese were followed by negotiations and talks between AFDL, the UNHCR, and other agencies, diplomats, etc. International pressure was intense and resulted in the AFDL setting a deadline for the UNHCR: Starting on the 1st of May 1997, the refugees were to be found and repatriated within 60 days. . . . The first UNHCR airlift to Rwanda took place on the 27th of April 1997, when 33 refugees were taken to Rwanda. Further repatriations by air followed. By the 4th of May 1997, some 4,764 refugees had been airlifted to Kigali.

By the 30th of April 1997, larger groups had again settled along the railway line. In early May, 30,000 were reported at Biaro—again, their state was precarious and their number increasing. Several had suffered machete or gunshot wounds. Between 30 and 40% of the refugees were suffering from malnutrition. At km 82 [from Kisangani], Obilo, another group of 5,800 refugees had gathered. It was reported that except for these concentration points, refugees were hiding in the forests and came out only to be evacuated on the train. The military had started bringing 920 people on the train to Kisangani on the 30th of April 1997, without prior consultations with UNHCR. On the 4th of May 1997, [some] 92 refugees died of asphyxiation or were crushed to death on an overcrowded train.

Again, humanitarian agencies faced obstruction of their efforts by AFDL. Incidents included intimidation of MSF staff at Biaro; the placing of a landmine outside the MSF hospital at Kasese . . . ; initial prohibition of food distribution

at Obilo; or the previously described lack of consultation and coordination of repatriation efforts on the part of the AFDL. . . .

2. Bukavu-Shabunda area

Following the AFDL attacks on the refugee camps in October/November 1996, many refugees fled west to Shabunda or deep into the forest of South Kivu. Groups of refugees started to emerge from the roads, heading towards Rwanda, as early as December 1996, due to the hostile forest environment and the advancing front-line. At Shabunda, new camps were set up that held approximately 40,000 refugees until mid-January 1997, when the AFDL attacked. Thousands of people are reputed to have been killed during this period. The location of the refugees who fled these attacks remains unknown. A group of 30,000 last seen in Shabunda and reportedly heading towards the Angolan border, may be part of the original group.

From mid-November 1996 onwards, MSF tried to obtain permission to enter Bukavu. Repeated attempts to get there were frustrated by the AFDL. . . . In addition, during the period from late 1996 into early 1997, agencies were asked by the AFDL to indicate places where refugees were expected and to seek permission beforehand to go there. In December 1996, humanitarian organizations began receiving reports that the AFDL military was capturing refugees in areas where NGOs were present. Initially, such reports were thought to consist of sporadic incidents carried out by small bands of AFDL soldiers. However, more and more information emerged which suggested a systematic practice of military operations directed against ex-FAR and Interahamwe, with the aim of eliminating the combattants and accompanying refugees. . . . Therefore, MSF could provide humanitarian assistance only to a limited degree at some transit centres and waystations along the routes most commonly taken by the refugees (western axis Shabunda-Kigulube-Bukavu; north-western axis Makwe-Bukavu).

Having obtained the permission of the AFDL, MSF carried out an exploratory mission in late March/early April 1997 on the western axis, from Bukavu via Kigulubeto Shabunda. This trip gave rise to grave concerns about human rights violations taking place in that area. . . . Various local and expatriate sources reported that the military were killing refugees: This had been a practice over the past months and was ongoing. Originally, the military was said to have targetted male refugees, both adults and young boys, but had recently changed to also kill women and children. As was directly stated to MSF by a military commander, "All ex-FAR and Interahamwe had to be eliminated—it is unfortunate if they are using women and children as a shield." He also declared that "all those in the forest are considered to be the enemy."

Both military commanders and personnel from the Société Nationale de Renseignements (SNR), a recently established secret service body, explained to MSF that they had started to go into the forests to look for refugees, but that it

was difficult to find them. It was stated explicitly that, for this reason, they needed the presence of international organizations. As refugees became aware of the NGO presence in an area, they would emerge from the forest. They would then be followed and killed by military. Plans to start a repatriation process, whereby refugees would walk east along the road from one waystation to the other, were also said to fit the military's strategy of luring refugees out of the forest for elimination.

The local population in the area is intimidated and threatened by the military. Villagers have been told not to help the refugees, but, instead, to get them to leave the forest and come onto the road to make their way to Rwanda. Once on the road, however, they are killed. The intimidation campaign was heightened by the military in the context of an "ideological seminar" which took place in Shabunda from the 17th to the 23rd of March 1997. All community chiefs (*chefs de groupe-ment*) of the region had to participate. MSF was told that, at this seminar, Easter Sunday was set as a deadline: Anyone found helping the refugees after that day would be tortured and killed by the military. Two incidents were reported to MSF in which the military killed members of the local population during the exploratory mission: In the first one, the victims were local staff at a mission compound providing shelter to refugees; in the second case, villagers who had talked to the team on its way to Shabunda were taken away by the military, allegedly to be killed.

At the above-mentioned "ideological seminar," village chiefs were also ordered to assist the military in "cleaning the road." This was understood to mean removing bodies and bones as well as other indications of killings, such as clothes, cooking utensils, etc. from the roadside. On the road, at km 145.5 west of Kigulube, the team encountered a group of soldiers and villagers. Clearly surprised by the team's arrival, the military commander yelled at the team, trying to intimidate them, while his men could be seen hurrying to put shovels into a truck. Earlier, the team had received numerous reports about the road from Kalchungu (112.8 km west of Kigulube) to Shabunda being littered with bones and decomposing bodies. As the team proceeded, only two skeletons could be seen. However, there were signs of "cleaning" operations having taken place which grew more visible as the team approached Shabunda; for instance, the team observed freshly dug earth on sites that were reported to be mass graves.

3. North Kivu-Masisi area

The primary victims of this situation are Hutu refugees, an unknown number of whom are still hiding in the forests of North Kivu, and Zairean Hutu civilians who are being targetted by the AFDL, for their ethnicity and suspected support of ex-FAR, Interahamwe, and armed Hutu extremists, but who also suffer intimidation and coercion at the hands of the latter. Eyewitnesses report seeing the bodies of women, children's clothing, and other human remains in mass grave sites in

western Masisi.

In addition, a large number of Zairean residents of North Kivu have fled to other parts of Zaire, outside Kivu. Many residents have been, are, or will be, temporarily or longer-term displaced within North Kivu. The fighting, attacking massacres, looting, robberies, etc., have resulted in further deterioration of the already poorly functioning society in North Kivu and particularly in Masisi. The costs of continuous insecurity for everybody, continuous movements of people (displacements), loss of income and resources, disruption in regional economics (cattle and coffee plantations), loss of shelter, water, and sanitation facilities, health care, community structures, food reserves and production capacities, family disruption, unaccompanied children, orphans, war deaths and wounded, etc., is enormous.

* * * *

L. May 9, 1997. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights Joint Investigative Mission to Eastern Zaire issues a press release titled "Human Rights Investigators Urge AFDL to Reconsider Position," which is reprinted here.

The following statement is issued by the three members of the United Nations Joint Investigative Mission for eastern Zaire: the Special Rapporteur for Zaire, Mr. Roberto Garreton (Chile); the Special Rapporteur for extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions, Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye (Senegal); and Mr. Jonas Foli (Ghana), a member of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.

We deeply regret that the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) has so far declined to allow the United Nations Joint Investigative Mission for eastern Zaire to enter the territory under its control. We urge the leadership of the AFDL to reflect on its responsibilities and reconsider its current position.

Since the Joint Mission was established by a consensus vote of the Commission on Human Rights on 15 April 1997, the United Nations Security Council, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of the Organization of African Unity, diplomatic representatives of Member States and senior officials of the UN, have urged the AFDL to cooperate fully with the Mission.

On 8 May, the AFDL provided our envoy in Lubumbashi with a paper setting out its views on the Mission and proposing that a team of "national experts" should work with our Joint Investigative Mission. The paper also notes "serious reservations" regarding the participation of Mr. Roberto Garreton in the Mission.

In our view, the paper indicates the AFDL's desire to be *juge et partie* [judge and jury] in this investigation which we should conduct with regard to all allegations regarding massacres and other grave and massive violations of human rights by all parties in the area of conflict.

We are bound by the mandate determined by the Commis-

sion on Human Rights and by the standard terms of reference established for investigative procedures of the Commission and aimed at ensuring their independence, impartiality, and security. Accordingly, we ask the AFDL to give our Mission its full and unconditional cooperation to enable it to fulfil its mandate, which, we believe, remains a priority issue for the international community.

It is generally accepted that there have been massacres and other grave violations of the right to life and international humanitarian law in eastern Zaire since September last year. Many of the victims have been refugees from Rwanda but Zaireans have also been targeted. There is evidence that various groups are responsible for such attacks. It is also clear that violations of human rights are continuing.

The purpose of our Mission is to investigate a number of the more serious and credible allegations with a view to ascertaining whether massacres have been carried out in a systematic and planned manner. We are also charged with investigating which individuals or groups have been responsible for such killings.

We believe such investigations are an essential part of the restoration of the rule of law for Zaire and also for its neighbours: Burundi and Rwanda. It is evident to all that the culture of impunity, in which one group kills another without fear of the consequences, only breeds more killings, instability, and a perpetuation of the cycle of tragedies we have seen unfold in recent years.

The Mission with its team of forensic experts has been in Kigali, Rwanda for the past five days, hoping for final clearance from the AFDL to begin its work. Despite the considerable preparations already undertaken, we believe that there is no longer enough time for the Mission to conduct sufficient investigations in Zaire in order to present a substantive report to the UN General Assembly by 30 June 1997.

In these circumstances, the report we will now prepare for the General Assembly will reflect our efforts to date, the most recent evidence available of human rights violations in eastern Zaire, and make recommendations for the remaining period of our mandate.

Our hope is that the AFDL will reconsider its current position and allow the Mission to carry out investigations in eastern Zaire in the coming months, in order to provide a comprehensive report to the Commission of Human Rights at its next session, in March-April 1998, or to another session of the General Assembly if it so decides.

* * * *

M. Late May 1997. What follows is the text of a special report released from the Washington, D.C. office of Refugees International—"Special Report: Rebels Accused of Killing Refugees."

Elements of Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) have apparently killed hundreds of Rwandan refugees south of Kisan-

gani in eastern Zaire. Starting April 20, rebel soldiers surrounded several camps containing over 80,000 refugees. Once the camps were sealed off, the killing of refugees reportedly began. The vast majority of refugees in these camps are civilians, survivors of six months on the run in the forests.

In November 1996, rebel forces broke up the camps in the Goma area of Zaire, with most of the refugees—about 600,000—returning to Rwanda. Some of the refugees in the Goma area fled west further into Zaire, along with the former Rwandan military and Hutu militia. In the Bukavu area and further south in eastern Zaire, however, hundreds of thousands of refugees never had the chance to return to Rwanda. Instead, the vast majority were driven westward by the rebels.

The international community might have acted at that point to steer the refugees back to Rwanda with a multinational force, but support for the proposed force dissipated when the U.S. and other nations declared erroneously that virtually all of the refugees had returned to Rwanda.

Meanwhile, the forced exodus continued with an increasing toll of civilian refugee deaths and Zaireans displaced by the refugee flow.

The survivors of this harrowing ordeal surfaced several weeks ago south of Kisangani, where the rebels for about two weeks impeded access by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and relief organizations. After the death toll had reached 100 or more a day, the rebels finally permitted some food and water distribution. The rebels also grudgingly promised to permit the UNHCR to begin an aerial repatriation

from Kisangani of those refugees too weak to go overland.

Several days ago, the rebels cut off the camps, which had rations only sufficient through April 22, and suspended the repatriation before it began.

Simultaneously, and perhaps with encouragement from the rebels, local Zairean residents attacked the food warehouses and convoys, following an attack on a Zairean village, allegedly by "refugees," which killed six villagers. There are now suspicions that the attackers could have been rebel soldiers masquerading as refugees.

What does seem increasingly and horribly clear is that the rebels, as a matter of deliberate policy, have been dispersing the refugees for six months in the hopes of destroying them. When, after this time, refugees still survived and the food pipeline was turned on, the rebels attacked the refugees. In fact, it now seems that the rebels have been using aid agencies to lure refugees from the forest in order to kill them.

UN Secretary General Annan and others have called the earlier policy "killing by starvation." Now it also appears that the refugees are being killed by rebel soldiers and are being pushed further away from international assistance. In their weakened condition, many will perish as a result of this forced march.

Since November, Refugees International (RI) has been documenting the tragic story of the Rwandan refugees who fled west into Zaire. RI must conclude that for the past six months the rebels have been engaged in ethnic cleansing of the largely Hutu Rwandan refugees.

PART 3

**London's raw
materials cartel runs
the Africa genocide**

How the British raw materials cartel put Kabila into power

On May 9, in Lubumbashi in western Zaire, less than two weeks before he was to take power over the nation of Zaire and its 45 million inhabitants, Laurent Kabila met with top members of the British Commonwealth's oligarchical financiers. The meeting was organized by Kabila and the Canadian mining company, America Mineral Fields (AMF); representatives from approximately a dozen financial institutions attended. In the tradition of German Reichsbank head Hjalmar Schacht's backing of Adolf Hitler, this meeting planned out ways to strengthen Kabila's Nazi rule over Zaire.

Kabila, who is part of a British Privy Council-steered alliance that includes Uganda's Yoweri Museveni and Rwanda's strongman, Vice President Paul Kagame—Museveni and Kagame supplied half or more of Kabila's troops and military equipment—had already committed one of the greatest mass-murder campaigns of the 20th century. Over the course of eight months, beginning in October 1996, his forces accomplished a greater intensity of genocide than Hitler, killing 1 million Zaireans as well as Hutu Rwandans seeking refuge in Zaire. Starvation and the machete were favored weapons.

As we shall see below, the financiers and raw materials cartel of the House of Windsor-centered British Commonwealth see Kabila as their instrument to depopulate Zaire, and open it up for the plunder of its resources by Britain's raw materials cartel. The May 9 meeting was a jumping-off point for the next phase of operations.

Some members of the London-controlled press attempted to portray the May 9 meeting as an instance of the U.S. administration of President Bill Clinton endorsing Laurent Kabila. That is a lie: *EIR* spoke with a participant at the meeting, as well as an official of America Mineral Fields, to learn what went on there. At the gathering, Kabila spoke for one hour, urging the representatives of the 12 financial institutions to bring funds into Zaire now, which would have the effect of propping up his government; in return, goodies and loot are being apportioned.

Zaire, the third-largest country in Africa, is a prime target for the raw materials cartel. It has a land area of 893,000 square miles (2,312,999 square kilometers), and possesses half the world's proven cobalt reserves, as well as abundant deposits of copper, zinc, tin, and diamonds, and significant deposits of gold, and other commodities such as barite, boron, and magnesium. The raw materials firms have begun staking out these deposits, and signing contracts over the last three

years. Former President Mobutu Sese Seko, though making some concessions, resisted privatizing Gecamines, the state holding company which controls most of Zaire's raw material patrimony. Kabila has pledged to privatize and sell off to foreigners Gecamines' holdings. The financiers will finance the projects, as well as get some funds directly into Kabila's "economy."

The May 9 Lubumbashi meeting intersected larger issues. The Toronto-based Barrick Gold of former U.S. President and secret government drugs coordinator George Bush, began lining up gold properties in Zaire's central-eastern Kivu province in 1996. Bush's Barrick moved alongside several Canadian-based mining firms, including AMF, which "invaded" Zaire, in search of wealth. They are doing so, because, as the bankrupt world financial system moves toward final disintegration, the old wealthy families of the British Commonwealth, and its organizing committee, the Club of the Isles, are moving out of paper property titles, and stampeding into hard commodities, such as precious metals (e.g., gold) base metals (e.g., copper and zinc), strategic metals such as cobalt and vanadium, energy supplies, and increasingly scarce food supplies.

Africa has huge untapped reserves; the raw materials cartel, which already controls a majority of the world's raw materials, wants to consolidate whatever raw materials in Africa it does not already control.

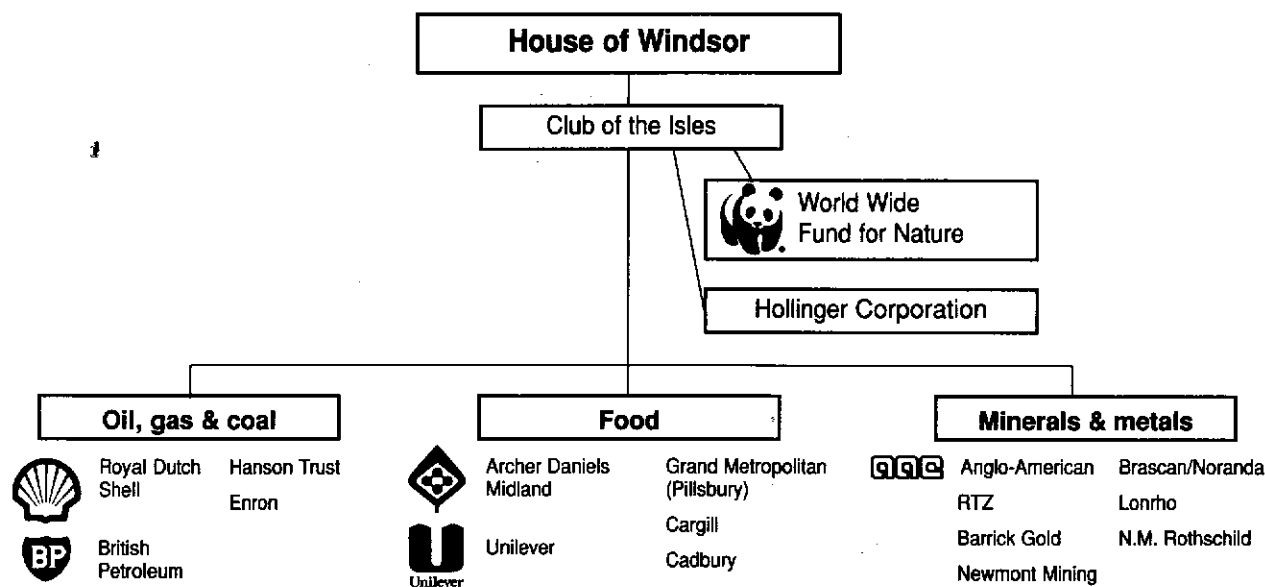
Second, these same forces believe the nation-state to be obsolete, and see most of Africa's population of 640 million as useless and expendable. Thus, they want to rapidly depopulate Africa, through genocide, including famine. They believe that some population is needed to run the mines, to provide limited services to the occupying companies, but not much more than that.

At the top of the strategy stands the largest raw materials firm in the world, South Africa-based Anglo American, which is one entity, through cross-ownership shares, with DeBeers Diamonds and the Luxembourg-based Minorco minerals, all owned and controlled by the Oppenheimer family. London-based Rio Tinto Zinc, the world's second largest raw materials producer, in which England's Queen Elizabeth II reportedly has a personal investment, is another major force. Barrick Gold of Toronto, Canada, guided by the drug-running, secret government intelligence networks of George Bush, is a third.

Although it is alleged that American companies are a major force, and that the American government plays a signifi-

FIGURE 1

House of Windsor control of raw materials



cant role in African strategic raw materials affairs, this is a myth. According to a table constructed with the aid of experts at the U.S. Geological Survey—which, ever since the U.S. government shut down the U.S. Bureau of the Mines in 1995, has taken over supervision of U.S. mining information—there are 27 major mining companies, led by Anglo American Corp., that conduct significant mining operations in all of Africa. These companies control between 80% and 90% of all African metals and mineral mining activity output (leaving aside energy). Only two of those companies are American. Most are either British, or are based somewhere in the British Commonwealth, especially those predominantly English-speaking countries which, for the past 150 years, have operated as the forward beachheads for London interests: South Africa, Canada, and Australia.

The Commonwealth's slogan is, therefore, "British gain, American blame."

The British Commonwealth is the most formidable economic force on this planet. It encompasses 23% of the world's land mass and 29% of its population. Grouped around the Anglo-Dutch monarchies, it operates from the top down a single cartel, which is divided into subordinated divisions: a raw materials cartel, an energy cartel, a food cartel, and a financial cartel. **Figure 1** depicts all of the above, except the financial cartel. These firms, through cross-share ownership and tightly interlocked boards of directors, are a single operation. Operating through the British and allied Privy Councils in Commonwealth countries, and through the British Overseas Development Office (formerly the Colonial Office), they shape imperial affairs.

This is the starting point for Britain's Hitler-like-genocide in Africa; to stop it this cartel's power must be dismantled.

We look first at the May 9 meeting, then at the broader powers of the cartel, and finally the mining firms operating in Zaire.

How the groundwork was laid for genocide

The May 9 meeting in Lubumbashi marked a turning point in the eight-month war in Zaire. Not only did it pull together the kind of support that Kabila needed to conduct the final week of fighting required to vanquish Zaire's capital city of Kinshasa on May 20, but it brought out into the open, a relationship that antedated the meeting. In October 1996, Uganda's Yoweri Museveni launched his attack into eastern Zaire, against Rwandan Hutu refugee camps, on behalf of the project of a British-controlled greater Tutsi empire. From among Museveni's forces, the Kabila option was put together, and Kabila started military operations. This was the military invasion.

But for three years before then, the raw materials cartel had been laying the groundwork for that attack, with an economic invasion of its own. Operating through a series of what are called junior companies—small mining firms, usually with hidden backing and control from such as Anglo American Corp., or else oligarchical financier forces—it began to map out, and, through preliminary contracts, lay claim to various deposits in rich mines of cobalt, tin, diamonds, zinc, copper, etc. in Zaire. This first invasion started in 1994-95, and gained substantial force during 1996, when preliminary contracts were signed with the Mobutu government. But the Mobutu contracts had too many restrictions limiting the "free-

enterprise rights" of the mining cartel to plunder. For all his Marxist rhetoric, a retooled Kabila, under Museveni's wing, would open up Zaire to plunder by outside forces, in a way that Mobutu would not permit. This centered around the privatization of Gecamines, (La Générale des Carrières et des Mines du Zaïre), which is the state holding company for a large share of Zaire's raw materials wealth patrimony. Mobutu resisted International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and financier calls for complete privatization of Gecamines.

George Bush's Barrick Gold led the mining invasion of Zaire in 1996, when it laid claim to gold mines at Kilomoto and Doko, in Haut-Zaïre province. Joining Bush in this looting expedition were the Canadian junior companies, which, amazingly, often had office staffs of only 10 people, and little capitalization of their own. But, like America Mineral Fields—which, despite its name, is a Canadian company—they laid claims to huge mining properties. AMF had signed a deal to mine the mammoth Kipushi copper mines in Shaba province. Others of these Canadian juniors included Consolidated Eurocan of Canada (now renamed Tenke Company), Banro International of Vancouver, and Panomara International of Vancouver and the Cayman Islands.

AMF's role in organizing the meeting at Kabila's request gave rise to a disinformation operation, with which it is useful to deal at the outset. Right after the fall of Kinshasa, columnists Ambrose Evans-Pritchard and Chris Ruddy wrote articles about the May 9 meeting in the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, on May 17 and May 18, respectively. The *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* is owned by right-wing financier Richard Mellon Scaife. Ruddy regularly writes for the *Tribune-Review*, and Evans-Pritchard, who regularly writes for the Hollinger Corp.'s London *Sunday Telegraph*, also writes columns, usually unsigned, for the *Tribune-Review*. Mellon Scaife and Hollinger Corporation are enemies of the United States, and have led violent attacks against President Clinton.

The truth about America Mineral Fields

Ruddy and Evans-Pritchard concocted the tale that it is principally American firms that are gobbling up resources in Zaire and Africa, and they insinuate that Clinton is supporting Kabila's efforts to land American companies fat contracts in Zaire. As evidence, they cite the case of America Mineral Fields, which sponsored the May 9 meeting. Evans-Pritchard points out that America Mineral Fields is headquartered in Hope, Arkansas, Bill Clinton's birthplace.

It is useful to refute this lie in some detail, since it is a smear against the President, and thus has potential great strategic significance. It is therefore also useful in helping us understand the nature of the Commonwealth firms invading Zaire, and what went on at the May 9 meeting with Kabila.

America Mineral Fields is a Canadian Company, founded in 1995 for exploration purposes. Its stock was first floated on the Vancouver Stock Exchange, and it is now traded on

the Toronto Stock Exchange. It is run and owned by Jean-Raymond Boule, who was born in the former French colony of Mauritius, and by his British-educated brother Max. Jean-Raymond Boule's business partner in this deal, and president of AMF, is Mike McMurrough, who happens to live in Hope, Arkansas (a town that Clinton left when he was seven years old). They made Hope the temporary headquarters of AMF. McMurrough has no business dealings whatsoever with Clinton. As an AMF official told *EIR* on April 18, "AMF's operation in Hope, Arkansas is just a shell company."

Boule's pedigree shows that for his entire life, he has worked for the British Commonwealth raw materials cartel. During the 1960s, Boule ran the Zaire operations of the Oppenheimer family's DeBeers' Diamonds. During the 1970s, he and his brothers set up shop in Dallas, Texas to sell diamonds and jewelry. In the 1990s, Boule developed a nickel property in Canada, called the Voyseys Bay project, in partnership with Robert Friedland, a Vancouver-based wheeler-dealer. Through selling his share in the property to the Bronfman family's Inco Company, Boule now sits on the board of Inco, which is based in Canada. In 1996, Boule lined up business deals in Zaire with Anglo American Corp. Through business deals, Boule is linked to Tony Buckingham, who oversees Executive Outcomes, the mercenary police force in Africa.

The Lubumbashi roster

Now we turn to what really took place at the May 9-10 Lubumbashi meeting. An AMF official, and a European source, provided a list of the participating financial firms (the firm's branch representative is also listed, where possible). Most of the firms are British- or Canadian-centered.

- Value Investing, London representative.
- Bunting Warburg (Bunting Warburg is a division of Swiss Bank Corporation Warburg), Toronto representative.
- Goldman Sachs, Switzerland representative.
- Deutsche Morgan Grenfell, South African representative.
- C.M. Oliver (a Toronto firm), Toronto representative.
- Canadian Imperial Bank of Canada-Wood Gundy (CIBC is one of the Big Five commercial banks of Canada), London representative.
- Northern Mining (an Ontario firm).
- Nile International (a North Carolina firm).
- Breco International (a British firm).
- National Securities (a London investment firm).
- Marathon Securities (a Canadian investment bank), Vancouver representative.
- Yorkton Securities, London representative.

These financial institutions represent a top layer of the financier oligarchy. For example, on the board of CIBC-Wood Gundy is a cross-section of the Canadian branch of the British Commonwealth's power establishment: Conrad Black, chairman of the Hollinger Corp.; Alfred Powis, chair-



Former President George Bush is a board member of Barrick Gold, which led the 1996 mining companies' invasion of Zaire. Here, Bush visits Barrick's Goldstrike facility in Nevada, along with former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

man of the Bronfman family's Noranda mining company; Raymond V. Smith, chairman of MacMillan Bloedel; etc. One of CIBC's directors emeriti is Harry Oppenheimer, the owner of Anglo American, the most important cog in the raw materials cartel.

Two of the firms present, Warburg and Morgan banks, during the 1930s, sponsored Hitler's rise to power, and helped keep him in power; until 1937, Max Warburg of the Warburg firm, owned a chunk of IG Farben, the company that supplied gas for the Nazi gas ovens. Now, the Morgan and Warburg are performing the same function for Britain's genocide in Central Africa.

Kabila had asked AMF to call the meeting. The AMF spokesman said that "President Kabila wanted to discuss business with investors and get investor money into Zaire for his projects." The AMF official added that he was "impressed by Kabila." After Kabila spoke, presentations were made to the group by Kabila's shadow finance minister and mining minister. The AMF official said, "They did a good job. Zaire is like a bankruptcy. It has good assets, and you want to get your arms around them."

'Gentlemen, the cashbox is over there'

In the 1930s, when Hjalmar Schacht was organizing funds for Hitler's rise to power, he told a group of businessmen including the Thyssen representative, "Gentlemen, the cash-

box is over there," with the understanding that they would drop their contributions in.

The May 9 meeting in Lubumbashi delivered a parallel message: Bring your funds into Zaire now, thus supporting Kabila, and there will be goodies and loot.

On May 20, an executive vice president of a Canadian investment bank, who attended the Lubumbashi meeting, confirmed and added to what the AMF official reported occurred at the meeting. "Zaire has potential for food growth, timber reserves, and great mineral wealth: diamonds, copper, cobalt, and zinc," he said. Asked why invest now, rather than five years ago, he explained that "You can make a spectacular return if you jump in with both feet." He reported, "This is the first time I met Kabila, and only for an hour, but I was impressed, if he delivers on what he said he would do."

He said that Kabila promised privatization of Zaire's mineral holdings. During the 1980s, when Zaire produced at its peak, it was one of the five biggest raw materials producing entities in the world. In 1993, the IMF and World Bank organized a credit cutoff to force Zaire to privatize its raw materials holdings. As a result, between 1987 and 1993, cobalt production fell 82%, and copper output fell 91%. Though some concessions were made to privatization, basically, it still resisted. The Kabila forces have now levelled that resistance. The Canadian banker continued, "Kabila and his people made statements which were very conducive for businessmen to

invest." While he said that deregulating mining regulations were not discussed specifically, nonetheless, "Kabila said the things businessmen want to hear."

On May 17, Kabila's finance minister Mwana Nanga Mwampanga asserted to Cable News Network, "We have to show that we have the guts to be able to manage monetary institutions and to grind inflation down to zero by having a very tight monetary policy."

Kabila gets down-payments

At the start of May, as part of the payment to help Kabila to get into power, the Vancouver-based firm, Eurocan Ventures International of Alfred Lundin, which has renamed itself Tenke Company, and which has a large cobalt investment in Zaire, gave Kabila a \$50 million payment, as a "down-payment" on its mining project. In April, AMF's Jean Raymond Boulle provided Kabila with a personal plane to fly him around Zaire. By then, AMF had started to refer to Kabila's government as the actual government.

As an example of what they want to accomplish, AMF has two main projects in Zaire: the Kipushi copper mines in Shaba province, and the Kolwezi cobalt-mining project, in which it plans to invest \$600 million and \$305 million, respectively. The two mines have deposits worth together more than \$20 billion, which AMF plans to extract. Many of the firms that attended the May 9 meeting are considering supporting Boulle's investments in Zaire. These firms will provide as much as 60% to 80% of the investment.

Much of Africa's mineral wealth is located in a crystalline belt that runs alongside the Great Rift, a geological fault that runs from the Jordan River Valley in the Middle East, southward through the Gulf of Aqaba, through Central Africa (where Zaire is located), and down to southern Africa.

By controlling raw materials, the cartel controls many of the features of life in Africa. Table 1, which was assembled with the assistance of the U.S. Geological Survey, shows the British Commonwealth raw materials cartel's monopolization of African mining and the continent's ground wealth: Twenty-seven firms dominate between 80% and 90% of all African metal and mineral output and refining. This excludes energy generation.

Notice three features of this list. Only two of the 27 companies with significant mining projects in Africa, are American: AMAX (formerly American Metals Climax), and Phelps Dodge. Phelps Dodge's engagement arises from a single investment, in the Black Mountain Mineral Development in South Africa, which produces copper, lead, zinc, and silver. Contrary to the story that American firms are gobbling up Africa, the American presence is very small.

Second, five of the entities on the list represent state mining companies. Four represent the federal mining companies of the nations of Botswana, Morocco (a big producer of phosphate), Zaire, and Zambia. A fifth entity, is the mining enterprise of Kivu province, Zaire, called Sominki. Laurent Kabila

TABLE 1

British Commonwealth raw materials cartel dominates Africa

AMAX, U.S.A.
America Mineral Fields*, Canada
Anglo American, South Africa
Anglovaal, South Africa
Ashanti Mines, Ghana
Banro International*, Canada
Barrick Gold, Canada
Broken Hill Proprietary, Australia
BRPM and OCP, state companies, Morocco
Consolidated Goldfields, South Africa
Debswana and BCL, state companies, Botswana
Delta Gold*, Australia
Gecamines, state company, Zaire
Gencor, South Africa
Inco, Canada
International Panorama*, Canada and British Cayman Islands
Iskor, South Africa
JCI, South Africa
Lonrho, England
Phelps Dodge, U.S.A.
Rio Tinto Zinc, England
Rembrandt Group, South Africa
Royal Dutch Shell (minerals), England and Netherlands
SOMINKI, Kivu province company, Zaire
Tenke Company* (formerly Consolidated Eurocan), Canada
Union Minière, Belgium
ZCCM/Zimco, state company, Zambia

* denotes a "junior" company

is facilitating the privatization of most of the rich holdings of Zaire's Gecamines, and Sominki. As the May 9 meeting and other events make clear, the raw materials cartel companies are snapping up these properties. Likewise, in Zambia, privatization is beginning. Among the bidders for Zambia's copper properties are Anglo American Corp. and Rio Tinto Zinc. Thus, soon, only two state enterprises, those of Botswana and Morocco, may exist in their current form.

Third, of the remaining 20 entities on the list, 19 are headquartered in Britain, Canada, South Africa, or Australia (Union Minière of Belgium, the 20th company, is part of this network, as is also the nominally American company, AMAX). The British Commonwealth companies dominate and produce the lion's share of Africa's resources: The 27 companies produce between 80% and 90% of all of Africa's metal and minerals output, and the Commonwealth raw materials cartel component produces at least four-fifths of that total. Since Africa has little manufacturing or infrastructure, this places the life-or-death existence of most African nations, including the export earnings of several nations, in the cartel's hands.

The cartel is moving to dispense with the nation-state, and to gather up those parcels of land where the raw materials lie. The policy of depopulation of much of the continent's population, whom the cartel views as superfluous, and even as interfering with its project, goes forward. This policy was spelled out in U.S. National Security Memorandum 200, in 1974, by then-U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The Anglo American paradigm

Many of the firms which own Africa's mineral wealth, also own most of the world's mineral wealth. Let us see how the British Commonwealth raw materials cartel controls human existence: by owning, and being in a position to squeeze off or alternatively release, the flow of production of the materials that go into most of our planet's non-carbon-based finished products.

This ownership of raw materials was not acquired, as such; it was stolen. Three companies reflect how the raw materials cartel works, and its immense power and global reach.

A look at Anglo American offers a chilling foretaste of how a world without nation-states, run by the raw materials cartel, would operate.

The South Africa-based Anglo American Corp. is the world's largest raw materials producer. Through cross-ownership of shares, Anglo American, DeBeers Consolidated, and DeBeers Centenary—the two diamond companies, which control the Central Selling Organization, which in turn controls 80% of the world's diamond market—and the Luxembourg-based metal company Minorco, constitute a single entity. This enterprise is owned and run by Cambridge University-educated Harry Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer's son Nicholas is active in the company day-to-day, but Harry still makes many of the important decisions.

Anglo American was formed in 1917 with money from the Rothschild bank and J.P. Morgan (today, the Rothschilds still own a chunk of Anglo American). In 1929, the Oppenheimers finally succeeded in taking over DeBeers Diamonds. DeBeers was one of the strongholds of the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes, who had a vision of a white race ruling the world, with unrestricted pillaging rights. This tradition was inherited and preserved by the Oppenheimer family. Not only is Anglo American-DeBeers the world's largest producer of gold, platinum, diamonds, palladium, antimony, tungsten, and vanadium, and among the top five producers in many other minerals, but Anglo American owns and operates over 1,300 companies in South Africa alone, and owns significant shares in 70 top banks and corporations around the world, including several raw materials "rivals," such as Brazil's Rio Tinto Zinc. Although the Oppenheimers publicly profess to be critics of South African apartheid, and have funded and controlled many leftist opponents, they have fundamentally supported, and benefitted mightily from apartheid, which allowed them to run their mines as a slave plantation.

TABLE 2

Anglo American and Rio Tinto Zinc combined share of Western world mining production

(percent of total)

Commodity	Share	Commodity	Share
Antimony	20%	Nickel	8%
Bauxite	10	Niobium	8
Chromite	15	Palladium	39
Cobalt	10	Platinum	45
Copper	12	Rhodium	41
Diamond	48	Silver	6
Gold	25	Titanium	31
Iron Ore	10	Tungsten	18
Lead	7	Uranium	8
Lithium	5	Vanadium	36
Manganese	6	Zinc	6
Molybdenum	11	Zirconium	23

The Anglo American-DeBeers-Minorco hydra, which already operates seven African mining operations—making it by far the largest raw materials company in Africa, with more than one-fourth of Africa's output—is now grabbing for even more. Anglo American has increased its ownership position in the Ashanti Mines in Ghana, which represents the richest operating goldfield outside of South Africa. Anglo American owns a chunk of Banro International, which is purchasing Sominki, the major province-run holding company for Kivu province in Zaire. Kivu is Zaire's second-most mineral rich province. After Kabila's conquest of Kinshasa on May 16, DeBeers Diamonds was awarded a major concession to market some of Zaire's diamonds (Zaire has the second-largest diamond reserves in Africa). In mid-April, Anglo American representatives met with Kabila. The parties assured each other that they could work together, thereby anointing the genocidalist Kabila as Zaire's new ruler. It is likely, but not yet established for certain, that Anglo American secretly fulfilled Kabila's demand that he be given "earnest money" in order to show they were eager to work with him—money that would have sealed Kabila's victory.

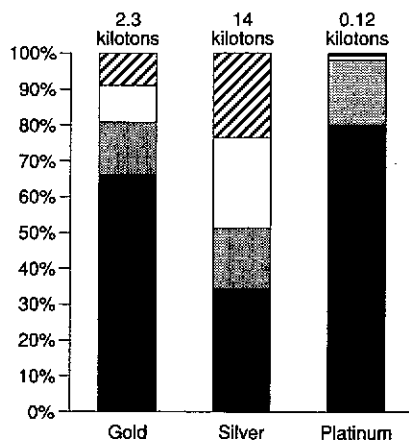
The Oppenheimer family members are part of the oligarchy's elite 1001 Club, which operates under the aegis of the World Wide Fund for Nature of Britain's Prince Philip, on behalf of environmentalist anti-industrial and Malthusian depopulation strategies globally.

But to fully appreciate what Anglo American controls, it must be seen in context with the London-based Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), the world's-second largest raw materials producing company. RTZ was formed in 1870s by China opium trader Hugh Matheson, who was a principal in the Hongkong-based firm, Jardine Matheson. According to published reports, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II owns a significant share of RTZ stock. (The Rothschilds, who are significant investors in An-

FIGURE 2

Control of gold, silver, and platinum markets

(percent of total market)



■ London- and British Commonwealth-based

■ Non-British industrialized

■ Former Soviet Union

■ Third World, other

■ Other countries

FIGURE 3

Control of nickel, copper, zinc, and lead markets

(percent of total market)

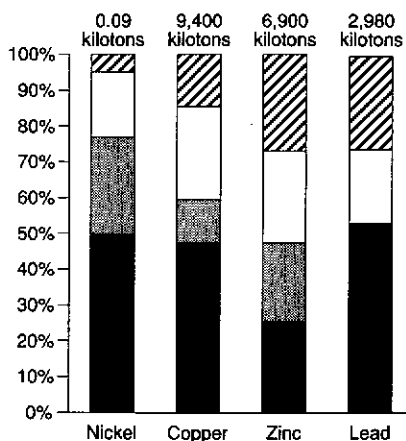
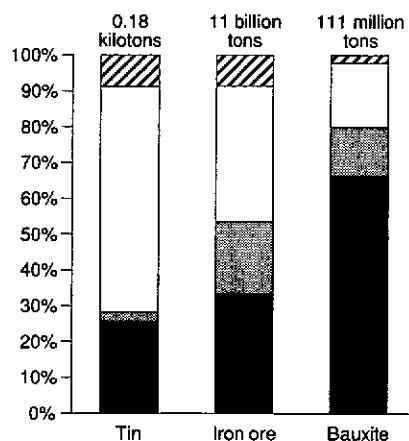


FIGURE 4

Control of tin, iron ore, and bauxite markets

(percent of total market)



Sources: *Who Owns Who in Mining*, 1994 and 1994 editions, London: Roskill Information Ltd.; *Mineral Commodity Summaries*, 1995, Bureau of Mines of the U.S. Department of Interior.

glo-American, also have an important stake in RTZ). The immense power of Anglo American and of RTZ together is shown in Table 2, which shows their combined share of western world's raw materials production. There are 16 commodities, in which Anglo American and RTZ combined have 10% or more of the western world's output, and of these, nine commodities, of which they control 20% or more of western world output. Considering the fact that most producers and sovereign nations normally only produce amounts of less than 2% of these commodities, control of 10-20% or more represents enormous concentration and power.

A third force, which is as much a political as economic power, is the Toronto, Canada-based Barrick Gold. Sir George Bush directs this company, from his position, created in 1995, as honorary senior member of Barrick's international advisory board. During the period that he was vice president of the United States (1981-89), Bush worked inside the U.S. government to manage London-directed illegal weapons and drug-running operations. Adnan Khashoggi, who underwrote Bush's Contra operations, formed the Barrick Petroleum Corp. in 1981. After its ventures flopped, the company's name was changed, so that it eventually became Barrick Gold. Peter Munk, who was a protégé of the British Royal Household, eventually became chairman of Barrick. Through guidance by the oligarchy and Harriman-Bush networks, Barrick leapt from out of nowhere to become the third-largest gold producer in the world. In 1996, Barrick muscled in to obtain a concession to mine gold at the Kilomoto and Doko mines in Haut-Zaïre, Zaïre's northeast province. This was first reported in

the Nov. 27, 1996 issue of the French daily *Le Monde*.

The Anglo American-RTZ-Barrick nexus is just one component, albeit a very important one, of the House of Windsor-led raw materials cartel. As *EIR*'s Sept. 15, 1995 cover story on this subject documented, the House of Windsor-Commonwealth cartel in toto, inclusive of the companies above, controls 59.5% of world gold production, 78% of world platinum production, 25% of copper production, 55% of alumina bauxite production, 64% of cobalt production, 42% of manganese production, 39% of chromium, etc. Figure 2 through Figure 13 elaborate various aspects of British commonwealth control of not only these raw materials, but of grains and crucial food stuffs, on a global scale.

Any person who doubts that the British Commonwealth is the most powerful economic force on Earth, is either sleeping, or a fool.

IMF, World Bank, financiers cut off credit

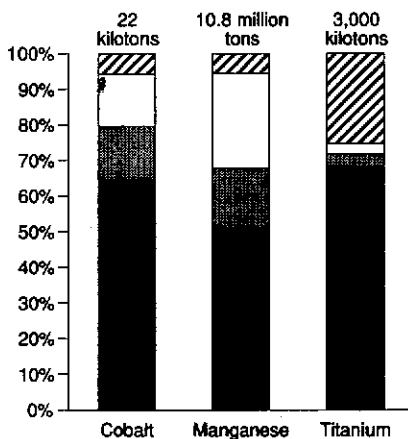
Most of Zaïre's raw materials holdings are owned by the state, and President Mobutu Sese Seko has resisted selling them to foreigners. A seven-year campaign, including a total credit and aid cutoff of Zaïre, has been waged to force Mobutu to give in. At the center of the campaign has been the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the international banks, which are run by the same oligarchical forces that run the global raw materials cartel.

On June 29, 1960, Zaïre obtained its independence from Belgium, although, as with many African countries, it was only a partial independence, because the countries were kept

FIGURE 5

Control of cobalt, manganese, and titanium markets

(percent of total market)

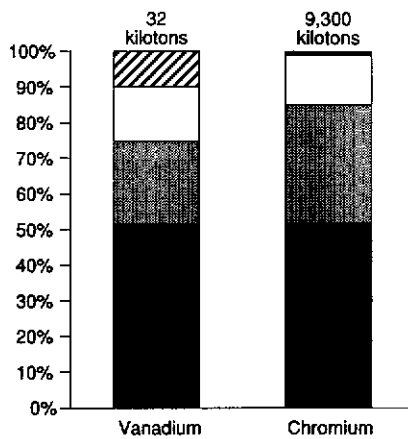


■ London- and British Commonwealth-based

FIGURE 6

Control of vanadium and chromium markets

(percent of total market)



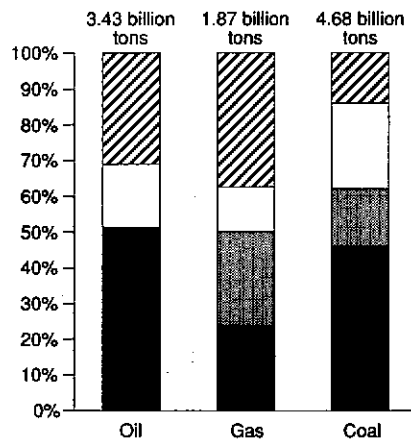
■ Non-British industrialized

■ Former Soviet Union

FIGURE 7

Control of oil, gas, and coal distribution

(percent of total market)



■ Third World, other

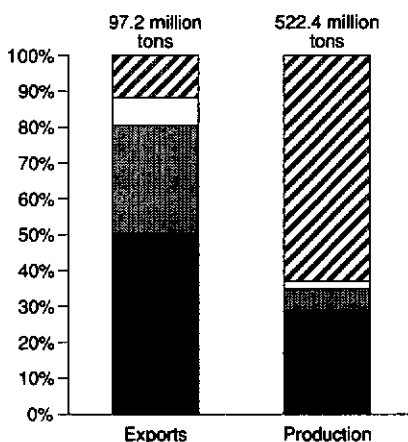
■ Other countries

Sources: Figures 4 and 5: *Who Owns Who in Mining*, 1994 and 1994 editions, London: Roskill Information Ltd.; *Mineral Commodity Summaries*, 1995, Bureau of Mines of the U.S. Department of Interior. Figure 6: *Ranking the World's Top Oil Companies*, 1996 edition, published by Booz Allen Hamilton and *Petroleum Weekly*; National Mining Association; *Mineral Commodity Summaries*, 1996, Bureau of Mines of the U.S. Department of Interior.

FIGURE 8

Control of international wheat exports

(percent of total)



■ Canada and Australia

■ European Union

■ United States

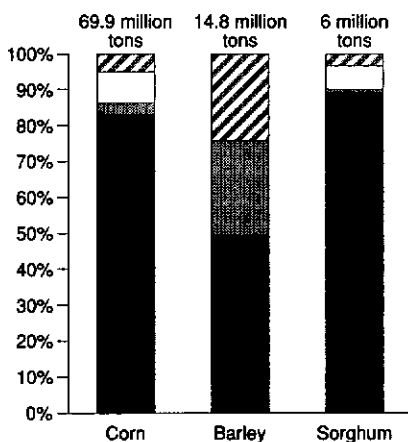
■ Other

■ Argentina

FIGURE 9

Control of international coarse grain exports

(percent of total)



■ Canada and Australia

■ European Union

■ United States

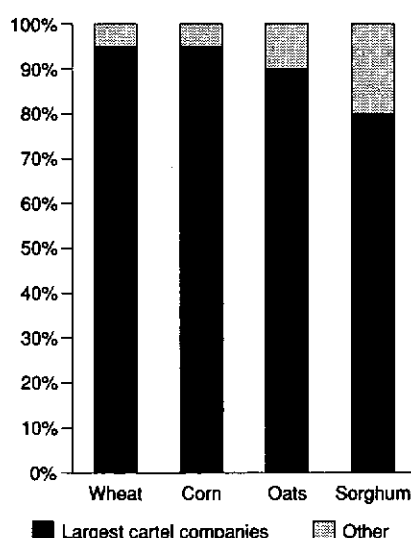
■ Other

■ Argentina

FIGURE 10

Control of U.S. grain exports by largest cartel companies

(percent of total U.S. grain exports)



■ Largest cartel companies

■ Other

Sources: Figures 8 and 9: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Trade Analysis Branch, 1994/5 crop production figures. Figure 10: *EIR* interviews; *The Grain Traders*.

FIGURE 11

Control of international milk and milk products

(percent of total)

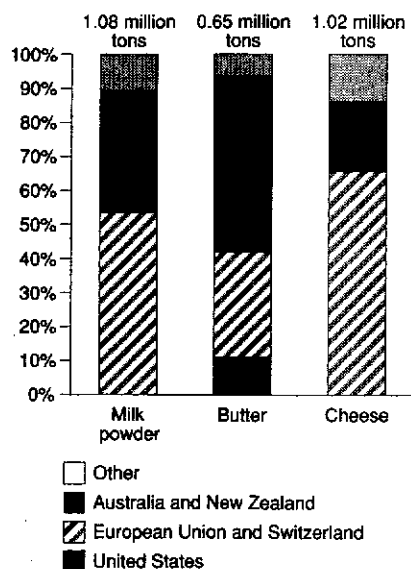


FIGURE 12

Control of international meat exports

(percent of total)

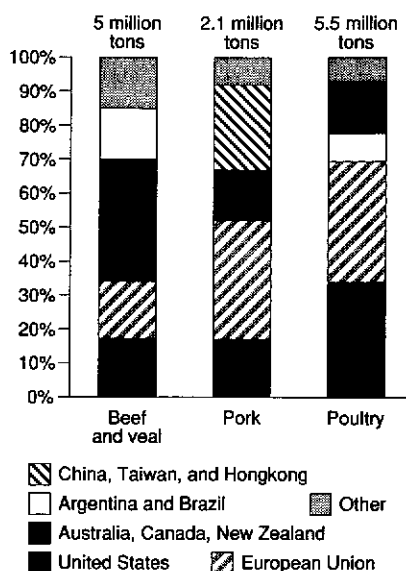
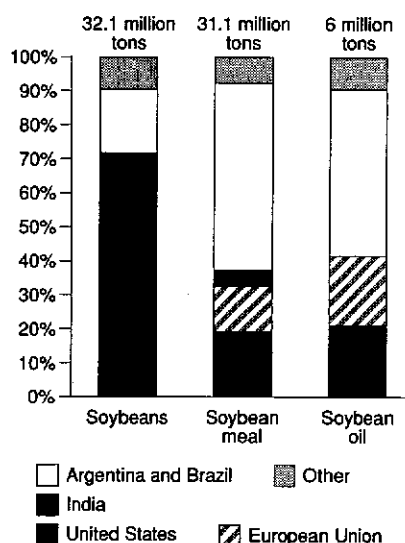


FIGURE 13

Control of international soybean and soybean product exports

(percent of total U.S. grain exports)



Sources: Figure 12: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, "Commodity Review and Outlook, 1994-95," 1994 production figures. Figure 13: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Commercial Agricultural Division, 1995 production figures. Figure 14: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Trade Analysis Branch, 1994/5 crop production figures.

in economic backwardness. In the case of Zaire, in 1961, its first elected President, Patrice Lumumba, was assassinated. Mobutu, who had been an Army general, was made President in 1965. In 1967, he declared that all the minerals in Zaire's subsoil belonged to Zaire, and nationalized the foreign mining holdings, which meant principally Belgium's two all-powerful companies, Union Minière and Société Générale. According to one source, "The Belgians were so angry at Zaire that they took with them all their records and plans needed to mine."

Despite difficulties, and while never enjoying the industrial/economic development that would have brought a decent standard of living to Zaire's now 45 million people, Zaire nonetheless was able to harness and mine some of its immense raw materials wealth. A sample of what Zaire accomplished can be gleaned from the report of the *Minerals Yearbook*, published by the Bureau of the Mines of the U.S. Department of Interior (Vol. III). In 1988, among the world's raw materials mining countries, Zaire held the following rank, for the following commodities:

Cobalt	world's largest producer and exporter
Diamonds	2nd in the world
Copper	5th in the world
Tin	12th in the world
Zinc	20th in the world

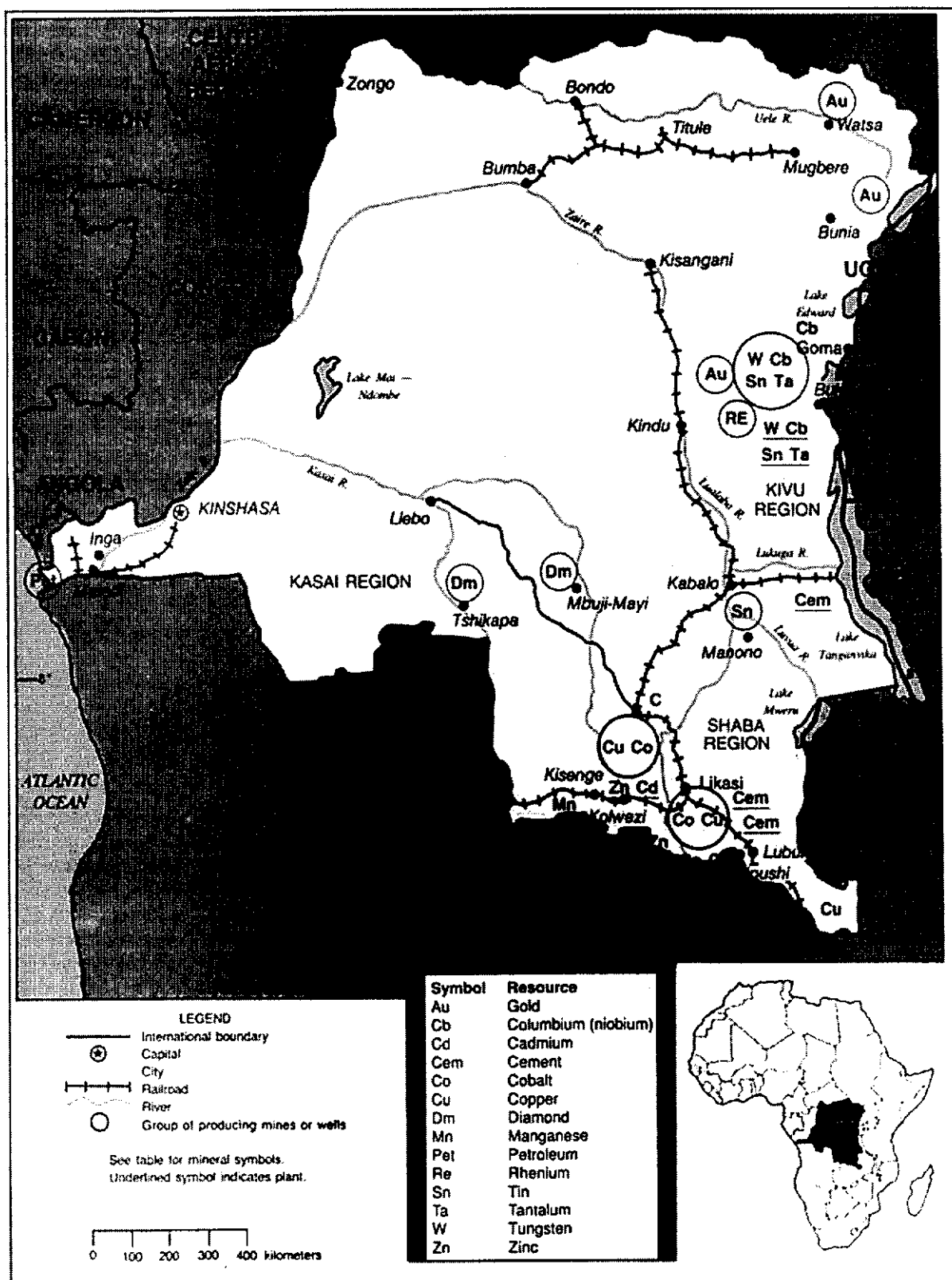
Zaire also mined other commodities, such as barite, boron, magnesium, and gold. Figure 14 shows the location of Zaire's principal raw materials deposits. Because of historical ties, Zaire shipped a good amount of these goods to Belgium. In the 1960s, in order to run its mining operations, Zaire created the state-owned La Générale des Carrières et des Mines du Zaire, which is known by its acronym, Gécamines. One of its other important state-owned companies was based in Kivu province, the Société Minière et Industrielle de Kivu, known by its acronym, Sominki.

When Belgium granted Zaire independence, it bequeathed to Zaire about \$5 billion in debt, which Belgium had run up. By the late 1980s, Zaire's debt stood at about \$8 billion—a large debt for a small economy based on raw materials extraction and food production, but no manufacturing. Zaire got further and further behind on its debt payments, and finally defaulted on most of it in the early 1990s.

This was the excuse that the banks wanted. They demanded that Zaire pay the debt, but also, joined by the World Bank and others, demanded that Zaire "democratize" its government and, especially, privatize its state-owned raw materials mining concerns. Privatization had three components: slashing the social services provided to miners by law, laying off half the workforce at Gécamines, and selling more than half of the different properties of Gécamines and

FIGURE 14

Zaire's strategic resources



Sominki to foreign investors. Secessionist movements were started in Shaba province; the net effect would be to dismantle the Zairean state.

The banks organized an international credit cutoff, meaning that Zaire could not get the money to purchase mining machinery, spare parts, and other essential imports. The West had always denied Zaire technology transfer, as long as the raw materials wealth was primarily in Zairean hands. Around 1993, the World Bank and IMF declared a credit cutoff to Zaire. A senior source at the U.S. Geological Survey reported on Nov. 27, 1996, that the World Bank and its loan guarantee agency, the Multi-Lateral Investment Guarantee Corporation (MIGA), recommended to Zaire that it would not get new money until it agreed to "modernize," that is, privatize, its mining operations, by selling off sections of state holdings.

During 1991, the governments of Belgium, France, and the Bush-led United States cut off all official government aid to Zaire, because Zaire had fallen more than 12 months behind on payments of its debt.

Currency warfare was unleashed in 1990, and has continued to this day. At one point, the Zairean currency, the zaire, depreciated from a few new zaires to the dollar, to 3,250 to the dollar. This devaluation meant that Zaire earned almost nothing for its foreign exports.

As the U.S. Geological Survey source explained, "The economy went down the tubes. Mining production today is 10% of what it was in the late 1980s. Because of the economic dislocation, most of the provinces are operating on their own." Indeed, between 1987 and 1993, cobalt production fell 82%, and copper production fell 90%. As a result, exports of minerals and metals, which accounted for three-quarters of Zaire's foreign exchange earnings, dried up. Zaire's ability to service the debt, should it choose to do so, disappeared.

The conditions of life for the population worsened, in a country in which living conditions were already bad. In 1990, only 39% of Zaireans had access to safe drinking water. Infrastructure is virtually nonexistent. In 1994, Zaire's infant mortality rate was 111 deaths per 1,000 live births, i.e., an 11% infant death rate, more than 13 times that in the United States. In 1992, the last year for which figures were available, 335,000 Zairean children under the age of five died. In 1994, life expectancy in Zaire was 53 years, lower than in 1990.

Under this assault, President Mobutu opened the door to privatizing Zaire's patrimony, although still not at a rate fast enough to satisfy the World Bank vultures.

The pincers movement of the Kabila forces, backed and directed by Museveni, caught a weakened nation. The economic invasion by mining companies, determined to get major raw material concessions, had already begun in 1994-95, and intensified in 1996.

The corporate invasion

The British Commonwealth raw materials cartel operated behind and through the so-called Canadian juniors. Consider

the large size of what they are grabbing:

- The Canadian mining company, American Mineral Fields of Jean-Raymond Boulle, lined up to purchase for approximately \$1 billion, the Kolwezi project and the Kipushi copper and zinc mine in Shaba province from Gecamines. The Kipushi mine is one of the largest copper and zinc mines in the world (copper and zinc are often mined together), and mining operations started here in 1925. Its known and probable reserves stand at 22.6 million tons, grading 2.1% copper and 13.8% zinc. AMF will realize more than \$20 billion in revenues from the mines, achieving a very high rate of return.

- Tiny Consolidated Eurocan of Vancouver, which renamed itself the Tenke Company in February, is purchasing from the state mining company Gecamines, a 55% interest in the Tenke-Fungurume copper-cobalt deposits in Shaba province. Eurocan/Tenke will pay \$250 million over 72 months for its stake, but the stake is worth potentially tens of billions of dollars in revenues. The Tenke-Fungurume mines have geological reserves of 222 million tons of copper and cobalt, with potential reserves of 1 billion tons, the world's largest operating cobalt reserves. Cobalt is a strategic metal, crucial in forming alloys with steel and other metals, giving them great strength and heat resistance. Some 40% of cobalt is used in aircraft gas turbine engines, and 10% in magnetic alloys. Consolidated Eurocan/Tenke is owned and run by Swedish wheeler-dealer Adolf Lundin, who operates from Vancouver. One U.S. mining industry source reported, "There is no way that Eurocan can develop the mines on its own. It doesn't have the capabilities. It will have to sell off shares to established mining companies, most likely Iskor and Gencor, to work the properties." Iskor and Gencor are both South African companies, and part of the British raw materials cartel.

Eurocan/Tenke owner Alfred Lundin attempted to get Zairean President Mobutu to approve his deal in Zaire, before Lundin shifted allegiance to Kabila. Lundin was aided by a powerful British-run ally. *Africa Confidential* reported in 1996 (Vol. 37, No. 24), that "former United States President George Bush telephoned Mobutu on behalf of Lundin when it looked as if the deal was falling apart." At the start of May of this year, the Vancouver-based Tenke Company gave Kabila a \$50 million payment, as a "down-payment" on its mining project, which money helped put Kabila in power.

- Banro Corporation of Toronto, Canada.

Zaire has three eastern provinces: Haut Zaire, in the north-east; Kivu, in the center-east; and Shaba. Kivu province is second in richness of raw materials, after Shaba. The leading mining concern in Kivu is the Société Minière et Industrielle de Kivu, or Sominki. Sominki was formed in 1976 as an amalgamation of nine companies that had been operating in Kivu province since the early 1900s. It operates 47 mining concessions, encompassing an area of 10,271 square kilometers.

In 1996, Banro Corp. of Toronto bought 36% of Sominki, raising some of its money for the purchase by floating shares

in Singapore. Banro was previously a small financial institution, with little apparent aptitude for mining. The impression is that it was reconfigured as a company for the special purpose of this purchase, perhaps acting as a front for someone. (Who that someone is, will become clear.)

Another large chunk of Sominki was bought by the Belgium-based company Mines D'or du Zaire, or MDDZ. Owning 60% of MDDZ is Cluff Mining Co. of London, and controlling 65% of Cluff is Anglo American Corp., the world's largest mining company and a key component of the Club of the Isles. On Sept. 21, 1996, Banro and MDDZ announced their merger, with Banro selling its shares to MDDZ. The new Banro-MDDZ company consolidated a 72% stake in Sominki, while the government of Zaire holds 28%. The Banro-MDDZ entity has announced that it plans to acquire that 28% from the government. Thus, Anglo American is the *eminentia grise* behind the project.

According to various Banro corporate reports and news releases, Banro was anxious to get its mining operations started as quickly as possible. However, the Sominki mining zone that Banro acquired started in the town of Bukavu, the center for the major camp for Rwandan refugees who had fled to Zaire, with nearly a million people. To get mining started, the entire zone would require clearing. Suddenly, as Uganda launched its invasion of eastern Zaire, near Bukavu, in mid-October, 1996, there was firing on the Bukavu refugee camp, supposedly against "Hutu rebels" who were hiding there. The military attack on the camp forced hundreds of thousands of refugees to flee Kivu province; many were massacred.

In acquiring Sominki, Banro did not just acquire a company; it acquired the effective governmental structure of the entire Kivu province. According to a Banro corporate press release, "Sominki owns an extensive infrastructure which includes repair shops, machine shops, electrical shops and a large fleet of Land Rover vehicles. In addition, it operates six hydroelectric sites, a number of air strips, and 1,000 kilometers of roads. Sominki is virtually self-sufficient. The company has about 5,000 employees." The release added, "In fact, Sominki is the *de facto* government providing all the essential

services for the Kivu Province" (emphasis added). Banro is renaming Sominki to be Sakima S.A.R.L.

- Vancouver and Cayman Islands-based Panorama International has obtained significant cobalt holdings in Shaba.

Add to this, the Barrick Gold purchase of a huge concession in Haut Zaire, and the fact that there is now discussion of opening up the major government-owned diamond mining company, Société Minière de Bakwanga (MIBA), to foreign investors. MIBA accounts for 40% of Zaire's official diamond exports. On May 19, Kabila asked DeBeers Diamonds, to market a significant share of MIBA's diamonds. The remaining 60% of Zaire's diamonds are developed by artisanal miners, i.e., prospectors, who then sell the gems to "Israeli diamond buyers and to [international gem dealer] Maurice Templesman," according to a knowledgeable source. The Belgian-born Tempelsman, who squirmed around Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis before she died, is an international tycoon. He is former president of the U.S. Africa Society, a group that attempts to misdirect U.S. government Africa policy.

The death toll

The looting of Zaire is moving ahead full-swing. Kabila, the "former" Marxist, with a penchant for genocide, and the raw materials cartel, have formed a perfect match. There are two consequences of this development. First, inevitably, as the systemic looting by the cartel intensifies, it will lower the standard of living of Zaire's population, now at the subsistence level or below. This downturn will increase the death rate. This is identical in effect to setting up gas ovens in Zaire, and herding victims into them. Second, this will be accompanied by the further wiping away of the Zairean nation-state. According to the feudal concept of the cartel companies, they have no need for most populations, nor for national sovereignty. They simply want what's in the ground.

The fate of every African nation is being written in Zaire. Unless this is stopped, by dismantling the British Commonwealth raw materials cartel, the same fate awaits every country in the world.

PART 4

Who sabotaged the multilateral aid force?

Why there was no rescue mission for Rwandan refugees in 1996

On Oct. 31, 1996, the Schiller Institute called upon the Clinton administration to immediately dispatch a military force to eastern Zaire, in coordination with the government of Zaire, to secure the lives of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan and Burundian refugees whose camps had been destroyed by the Rwandan and Ugandan militaries. More than 1 million refugees had been stampeded into Zaire's jungles, which offered neither food nor water to the refugees.

If this force had been deployed, most of the horror stories you have just read of what subsequently occurred in eastern Zaire, would never have come to pass.

What happened? Why was that force not deployed, even after the United States, in agreement with Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and Canada, had made a decision Nov. 13 to deploy such a force?

The answer in part lies in the debate around the mission of any such force.

The United States was demanding that Kabila et al. initiate a ceasefire, and that Rwandan troops return to their country, as said by State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns Nov. 7. However, for their part, Laurent Kabila—who by early November had been flown into Zaire and placed at the head of the invading troops from Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda—and Rwandan Defense Minister Paul Kagame, were both publicly completely opposed to the deployment of any foreign force to the region, no matter what the mission. Kabila on Nov. 6 declaimed his opposition to any American or European force, and said any force should be limited to only African troops. The Kabila-Kagame refusal to cooperate with such a force was backed by guns. The invading forces had not only attacked the camps—in violation of international law—but had militarily blocked access to the refugees by the aid agencies already on the ground.

Simultaneously, a drumbeat began to rise from British-linked quarters that the primary mission of any such force must be the “disarming” of the Hutu refugees. United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees Sadako Ogata declared Nov. 7 that “a neutral force” could be sent into eastern Zaire by the international community, but only on condition that its mission prominently include to arrest and disarm Rwandan Hutu militias, whose military might certainly had not succeeded in defending the camps from attack in the first place. “I would like to see them [the force] empowered to do that,” she said, “that should be one of their functions if such a force goes in.”

This was the preferred choice of London, as indicated by the Nov. 11 debate in the House of Lords on the subject. The overriding consensus in that august body was that the primary mission of any such force must be to disarm the refugees.

Hear the words of Baroness Park of Monmouth: “For the sake of the stability of the region, where neighbouring Uganda is trying so hard to recreate a relatively stable and prosperous country, . . . we have a proper interest in restoring the refugees to their own country in conditions of continuing [!] safety. What we must not do in accepting an open-ended, undefined commitment to a goal of bringing peace to the Kivu Province of Zaire. Especially, we must not re-establish or sustain, I suggest, any refugee camps within Zaire. The unfortunate villagers of Kivu have suffered enough, first, from seeing the Hutus—not just the women and children, but also the murderous militia who kept them there—fed and cherished by the UN while they had nothing.”

The Baroness was promptly seconded by Lord Avebury, chairman of the House of Lords committee on human rights: “The crescendo of violence against the native Tutsi population had been reported by the NGOs, by the UN special envoy Raymond Chretien, but Human Rights Watch/Africa, and by the media. Yet no attempt has been made to disarm the Interahamwe and the remnants of the FAR [Rwandan Armed Forces] in the refugee camps. As the noble Baroness said, we fed them and brought them back to strength so that they could resume the genocide in Rwanda and perpetrate a new genocide on their neighbors in Kivu.”

Lord Avebury specified the mission of any multilateral force to secure the safety of the refugees as follows: “The Zairean authorities would have to be asked to agree to stop their forces collaborating with the Interahamwe and the remnants of the FAR, and indeed to use their best endeavours to disarm their forces on Zairean territory. They would have to agree to stop the flood of arms and ammunition passing through Kinshasa. The leader of the Zairean armed alliance, Laurent Desiré Kabila, which now controls large areas of Kivu province including the main town of Bukavu, Goma, and Uvira, would have to be asked to agree to a ceasefire.

“With those provisos, a UN force could undertake the task of protecting aid agencies operating in eastern Zaire. The object would be to establish a safe haven in the areas under M. Kabila's control, to be precisely defined, through which refugees could return to Rwanda in an orderly fashion, screening them in the process and facilitating the arrest of any person



Roger Winter, executive director of the U.S. Committee on Refugees, is the leading U.S. "handler" of African marcher lords Museveni, Kagame, Garang, and Kabila. Winter was on the scene when Kabila and the Rwandan Patriotic Front attacked the refugee camps in Zaire.

accused of having taken part in the genocide."

Viscount Waverly then launched into a passionate diatribe against the refugees. "What has aggravated the crisis can be summarised in one word: fear—fear caused principally by the militia groups taking refuge within the camps and spreading misinformation. Word had it, for example, that once inside the transit camps, the returning refugees would be lined up alongside a pit and shot. . . . A return of refugees would have exposed the militia and led to arrest. . . .

"Indeed, a large foreign presence could exacerbate tensions and aggravate a crisis as it would give hope to Hutus that they will regain control of Rwanda and impose their views in Burundi. At the same time, it would have the effect of making the Tutsi more paranoid. Only extremists on both sides would gain from a military presence."

And if any force were to be deployed, declared Viscount Waverly, "a credible effort must be made to separate armed Hutu extremists from the innocent refugees."

Lord Rea then proceeded to up the ante. Blaming France for permitting the Interahamwe to escape Rwanda in 1994, he complained that the Interahamwe had "forcibly taken control of the refugee camps inside Zaire, and used them as a base from which to re-equip. They have boasted openly of plans to reconquer Rwanda" and thereby attempted to justify the invasion of Zaire by Rwanda: "Rwanda, with its fellow Tutsi ethnic brethren on the other side of the *artificial* border, in Banyamulenge in Zaire, have lost patience and gone on the offensive [emphasis added].

"By permitting elements of the previous genocidal regime in Rwanda to regroup and re-arm in the camps in eastern Zaire

we have allowed the present tragic situation to develop. That theme has prevailed throughout all of the speeches today. . . ."

Lord Rea concluded his remarks by issuing a disguised call for a Berlin II conference, as also demanded by Rwandan President Bizimungu: "We have a reputation for bringing law to colonial territories. Let us go back and adopt that role again. In our attempts to screen those in the camps and those who have left the camps we must bring these people to justice so that we end up with the right solution; that is, a regional conference to re-examine *the entire structure of the nations in the Great Lakes region* [emphasis added]."

The last word came from Earl Attlee, who summarized the consensus prevailing in the House of Lords: "The situation in Zaire is clearly one of chaos. However, it is important to remember that Rwanda is stable thanks to the efforts of the Rwandan government, the international community, and not the least, the Minister's [Lynda Chalker] Overseas Development Administration. . . . There are well over 1 million refugees to be repatriated. What can be done? The opportunity for large-scale repatriation can now be seized. The Rwandans and Zaireans do not want refugees to be sustained inside Zaire. That implies moving the refugees to Rwanda and then separating the Interahamwe or former government forces."

The consensus thus from the House of Lords was that any foreign military intervention must take on the task of "disarming" the Hutu refugees. That is, the foreign military intervention is to attack the refugees themselves—despite the very flight of the refugees themselves from the bombardment of the Rwandan troops and their lack of defense of the camps.

The House of Lords lost out in the international debate on

the mission of a foreign multilateral military intervention.

Two days following the cited House of Lords debate, White House spokesman Michael McCurry announced that the United States would participate in a multinational force to assist the transmission of food and medical aid to the refugees in Zaire.

McCurry stated: *"I would also say that the mission of this force would not be to disarm militants, to conduct any type of forced entry, or to police some of the operations and the refugee camps that have now been established in the border region."*

McCurry indicated that the force would move quickly: "Now, look, if there are people. . . if it is true that—and we don't have any reason to doubt it—if it's true that they've now got reported outbreaks of cholera, we know that there's malnutrition, dehydration. We've got, you know, close to a million people who are in peril, and thousands of them who are about to die. So we want to do it fairly urgently."

This announcement was not greeted very happily in the House of Lords, as reflected in the debate of Nov. 14. As Lord Elton said: "Does my noble friend recognise the rather subdued mood in which the House received his statement [of the mission of the force as defined from the White House] is due to the fact that it is under conflicting emotions at this moment?" As Lord Monkswell summarized the problem: "The operation of that force is designed to carry on providing aid to refugees and do nothing about the underlying problem that has been exacerbated over the past couple years. Given that scenario, we have every justified reason for being cautious about accepting what the Government are putting in front of us."

A Winter's tale

The scene shifts now to eastern Zaire, and headquarters of Laurent Kabila. As the Lords in London were registering their disappointment that the multilateral force would have as its mission the saving of lives, rather than fighting refugees, Roger Winter, executive director of the U.S. Committee on Refugees, was having a conversation with Kabila at the mercenary's headquarters.

As Winter told the story to a journalist, he had gone to visit Kabila in order to establish contact "with those on the ground," and his trip had been arranged through the Rwandan Patriotic Front in Kigali, Rwanda, with whom Winter is on very good terms. According to Winter, the RPF told Kabila: "Look, this U.S. Committee on Refugees is a credible group; they are involved with Sudan; they have been involved with Rwanda; they are involved in other places; and we think you should talk to them."

Winter's association with the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front goes back a long way, most likely to 1983, when he was travelling in the bush with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni who had recruited the Rwandan Tutsis as the core of his National Resistance Army. Winter was the chief lobby-

ist in Washington for the Rwandans in Diaspora, the Tutsi exile organization in the U.S.A., and according to his own testimony, he was in the front lines himself when the RPF blitzkrieged its way across Rwanda in 1994.

On Feb. 6, 1995, Winter held a joint press conference at the United Nations with the RPF ambassador to the UN, Manzi Bakuramutsa. Winter angrily lashed out at the governments of the UN Security Council for failing to approve a UN policing action designed to separate the Interahamwe from the refugees. Winter declaimed: "The idea that 60 countries including my own, the United States . . . could be confronted by the secretary general [of the UN Boutros Boutros-Ghali] and could reject participating in a policing activity to separate the perpetrators [of 1994 genocide] from innocent civilian refugees is incomprehensible to me."

So it is not surprising to find Winter directly on the scene precisely at the point that his close associates in the Rwandan Patriotic Front had taken matters into their own hands, and military attacked the camps.

However, Winter explained his presence with Kabila somewhat differently: "A lot of times the humanitarians—they just want to do something. We keep arguing: but you've got to do it right. And in this case, we felt that when the demand, the clamour for a military intervention was building, that there was something obviously missing from the discussion. . . any apparent comprehension, visibility or communication with the people who had the guns on the ground into which these international forces were going to come."

Winter was right on the scene the entire time: "I actually spent some time with him [Kabila]. I was with him Thursday the 14th of November. He was telling me how concerned he was about this international force that was going to come—we all expected it at that point—because the impact of them coming would be only—in his view, and I think I agree with him—to help his enemies and to hurt him. What he meant by that was that if the international force came it would freeze the situation on the ground, militarily. That would preserve Interahamwe, which he was trying very desperately to beat, and it would stabilize the government in Kinshasa, which were his enemies. And he said: 'if they stabilize the situation for my enemies, it will mean over time, they will get stronger and we will get more isolated, because we are rebels: we don't have any stature, and we don't have any big-power friends.'

"So he was saying that what we needed to do was to change the equation on the ground before the international force gets here. He explained that that was why we are pushing very hard at Mugunga camp, against the ex-FAR, the ex-Rwandan military and the Interahamwe. That was Thursday night, the 14th.

"Okay, Friday the 15th. I saw him at breakfast time. He said, with a big smile: 'We did it; we smashed those fellows, and the refugees are coming toward the border now; you can go down and see them.' And so I did. I was there for the beginning of the line as they were just coming.

"I found out, by the way, that on Friday, that afternoon he believed he was going to have a meeting with General Smith, the American general. I went off and I was visiting refugees and what all during the day, and I came back that evening, and I said: 'What did Smith have to say?' And he said that Smith didn't arrive, and he had no message as to why he didn't arrive, and at that time he heard on the VOA and BBC President Clinton and Secretary of Defense Perry announcing the intervention. And Perry said: we are coordinating with the government in Kinshasa, and with the government in Kigali, and we expect the rebels to acquiesce, combined with the fact that General Smith didn't show, he said, 'This is a big problem. You know, they are coming to my place, and they are not talking to me.' So he said, 'Can you get me some Americans?'"

"So at 2 o'clock in the morning, Saturday morning, I cross the border in Rwanda and I went to the local gendarmerie—police station—and I called people in Kigali at the American embassy and said, 'We've got a problem here; somebody needs to be talking to this chap.'"

"And then to make a very long story short, it could be arranged for Saturday; it was finally arranged for Sunday. On Sunday, he met with Ambassador Richard Bogosian from the American government and ultimately with the military people."

"He told me after the meeting on Sunday. He said: 'I think the Americans are starting to understand.' Because he really did not want a problem with foreigners. He kept saying: 'The Americans are not my enemy; the foreigners are not my enemy. . . .'"

"First, of all, clearly, in terms of the humanitarian issues, and the refugee piece of it, *he did something that had to be done* and that is, he separated the refugees from the genocide leaders, which is why the refugees went home. And the rest of the world was not prepared to do that. And the international force was not prepared to do that—so if he had not done that, all those refugees would not be going back to Rwanda right now. So it's good in that sense of the word."

Forced repatriation

As Winter later informed the House Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights on Dec. 4, 1996, "The threat of an international military deployment in eastern Zaire was helpful in mid-November, because the threat persuaded the ADFL [Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for Liberation] rebels to attack the final remaining refugee camp/military base outside Goma, known as Mugunga camp, on Nov. 14-15. The rebel attack routed the Interahamwe who were controlling the camp, and enabled some 600,000 Rwandan refugees to repatriate to Rwanda in a span of four days."

It is the case that between 450,000 and 600,000 Rwandan refugees returned home. According to multiple American and Rwandan sources, they returned to Rwanda after being corralled at gunpoint by Kabila's and Rwandan forces. The Amnesty International report in Part 2 of this report gives an idea

of what kind of "repatriation" took place.

Nevertheless, the British government immediately seized upon the event as the opportunity to withdraw support for any deployment of a multilateral force. On Nov. 19, British Defense Secretary Michael Portillo declared that "until the vacuum information is filled, we would not authorize a deployment."

The "information vacuum" refers to the lie pushed strongly by the Rwandan government, Winter, and Baroness Chalker that all but a few of the refugees had returned, as the United Nations had grossly overstated the number of refugees in Zaire to begin with.

This debate came out publicly in the United States in the *Washington Post* of Nov. 22. According to the Post, Lionel Rosenblatt, of Refugees International, had demanded the recall of U.S. Ambassador to Rwanda Robert Gribbin, "after he minimized the urgency of the situation in a BBC interview."

Gribbin claimed that "The bulk of the refugees from Rwanda that were in Zaire who want to come home have done so. There may be some that are staying behind because they do not want to come home."

Roger Winter agreed with Gribbin, stating: "Everyone agrees the northern corridor is clear. Those who have gone further west are either family [of the Hutu militias believed responsible for Rwanda's 1994 genocide] or other very bad people. If they are in a bad position, so be it. . . . Gribbin has, in my view, a good analysis of the situation."

However, aside from Rosenblatt, Paul Stromberg, spokesman for the UNHCR which had never been sympathetic to the Hutus, for sure, argued: "There are still hundreds of thousands of refugees outside the country [Rwanda], spread over a large area."

And even as late as Nov. 27, the U.S. government had not agreed with the Gribbin-Winter lie. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns stated: "Our best estimates would be—we would agree with the higher numbers. I think that the United Nations said on the order of many hundreds of thousands. It certainly stands to reason. If you look—remember what we thought the initial group was, over 1.2 million refugees. . . . Certainly the numbers are quite high."

The cost of deploy

Subsequent investigation into the events after Nov. 15, have borne out Lionel Rosenblatt and the United Nations' estimation of the number of refugees. Furthermore, more than half of the refugees remaining in Zaire were children, most of whom are now dead, particularly those under five years of age.

In November, despite the British pull-out, it took a while for the idea of the multilateral deployment to die. On Nov. 27, the White House announced that it was still engaged in deciding the mode of action for some limited operation in Zaire.

The United States also indicated that it was in full knowl-

edge of the atrocities being carried out by Kabila against Rwandans, Zaireans, and Burundians—as documented in the Brussels and Amnesty reports. Burns stated on Dec. 12, 1996: “The United States is deeply concerned about the allegations of political murders and human rights abuses in eastern Zaire by elements of the rebel alliance. We are calling on the rebel leaders to act immediately to investigate all reports of human rights abuses, to halt any operations that would take the life or victimize the innocent civilians who are trying to make their way back to Rwanda. And we’ve asked the rebel leadership to bring those responsible for these killings and human rights abuses to justice.”

Of course, Kabila et al. never complied with these requests, and now, with hundreds of thousands more dead, they still have not done so.

On the same day as Burns’s exposure of atrocities in eastern Zaire, hearings were held on Capitol Hill on the question of deploying a military force to aid the refugees. Phyllis Oakley, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Population, Migration, and Refugees, and Richard Bogosian, State Department special coordinator for Rwanda and Burundi, played

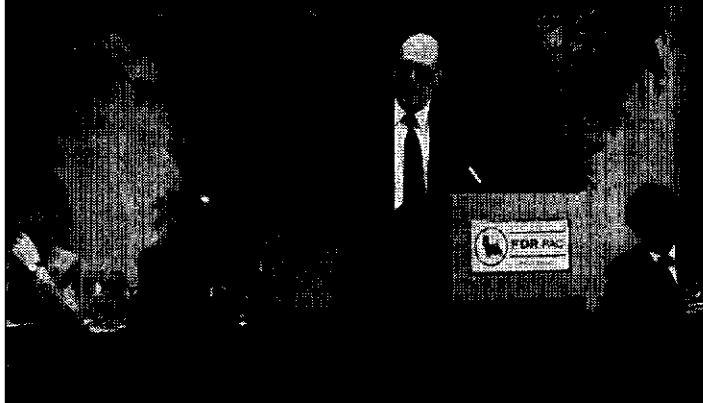
down the need for such a force to be deployed. Both stated that the problem was a ceasefire and access to assess the situation, since it had fundamentally changed with the return of 500,000 refugees to Rwanda.

When Oakley was questioned about the reports of massacres at the hands of Kabila’s forces in eastern Zaire, she replied: “We haven’t confirmed the massacres. We are disturbed because up until now we have been getting different reports” about the rebels.

There was no political groundswell to overcome the inertia concerning the U.S. deployment of the military to secure the safety of more than half a million people. No organizations of the African-American community came forward to speak on behalf of the refugees. No church organizations, with the partial exception of the Catholic Bishops Conference, stepped forward. Given the refusal of the Kabila and Rwandan forces to give access to any outsiders to the region, there was no television footage of the hundreds of thousands thrown into the lava-baked soil of the jungle, with no food or water.

No force was deployed. Part 1 of this report documents the result of that decision.

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PART 5

Nyerere's 'Kindergarten': Dar Es Salaam University

The training of the 'KKK': Kabila, Kagame, and Kaguta Museveni

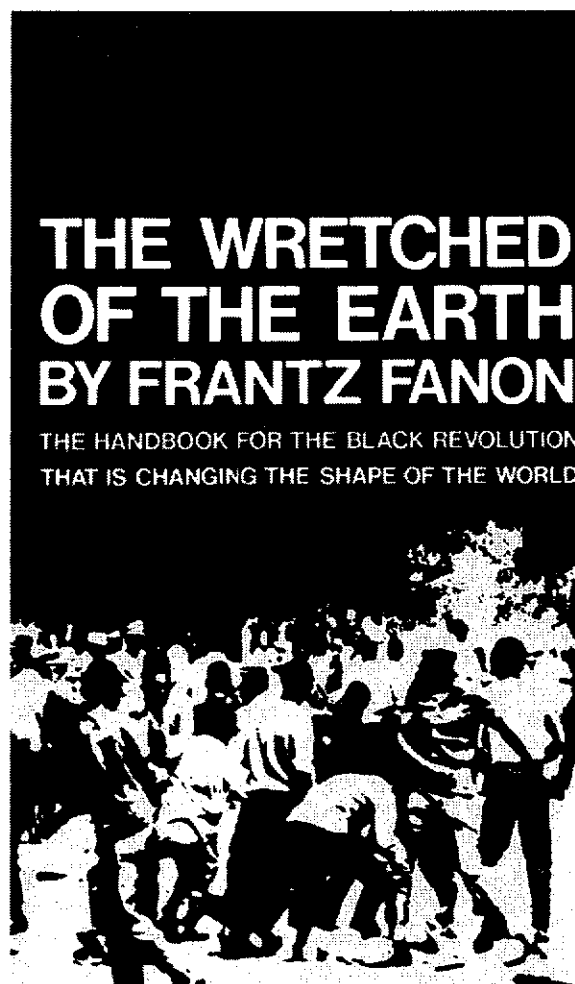
In the years 1966-1967, two events took place that express the 30-year history of psychological warfare and deconstruction that has now resulted in the seemingly relentless spread of genocide throughout the African continent, with little protest from the populations of the United States or Europe. The first, was a symposium held at the University College, Dar Es Salaam, in June 1966, titled "The University's Role in the Development of the Third World." The second was a two-week "anti-symposium," from July 15 to July 30, 1967, titled "The Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation," held in London at the Roundhouse on Chalk Farm, and initiated by two of the major agents of British psychological warfare, R.D. Laing and D.G. Cooper. "This was really the founding event of the Anti-University of London," Cooper stated.

Now, 30 years later, it becomes clear, that the deconstructionist ideology, and "practice," called "revolutionary suicide" by some, and "existentialism" by others, was *taught* to many of the participants in these events first-hand, by the likes of Jean-Paul Sartre, Herbert Marcuse, and their students, such as Frantz Fanon. The subsequent deployment of educational and psychiatric "shock troops" designed through, and at the conclusion of, these two symposia, played a pivotal role in the wholesale extermination of millions of black Africans, all justified as "revolutionary activity." Some of the most fanatical advocates of existentialist deconstructionism were themselves the victims, sometimes called "subjects," of "anthropological field experiments" conducted by the ideological heirs of what were then, the just-concluded fascist movements of Europe. These "lab experiments," were to result in what today we call, the "rock-drug-sex counterculture," but what was, fleetingly, called in the 1960s, the "New Left."

Actually, this was in no way out of the ordinary. The pseudo-science of "ethnology" had been born in France in the aftermath of the destruction of the Ecole Polytechnique, through the efforts of people such as Augustin Cauchy. The 19th-century creation of sociology, and the subsequent appearance of ethnology, were the conclusion, not the beginning, of the decline of thought in France. As Lyndon LaRouche stated, in the unpublished 1988 manuscript, *A New Anthropology Based Upon the Science of Physical Economy*, the Ecole "had been the world's leading and most vigorous center of advancement of the physical sciences during the 1794-1814 period of the great Gaspard Monge's leadership. . . . The Metternichean [1815 Congress of Vienna] destruction of the Ecole is more than analogous to the circumstances

under which the social pseudo-sciences were established. Ethnology was a product of the positivism, the latter the neo-Cartesianism which the Metternicheans adopted as a replacement for what French science had been under Carnot and Monge."

Post-World War II education of the students from former and still-emerging colonies in Africa, was the application of "ethnology" in the classroom. Africans were encouraged, as Julian Huxley states in his autobiography, to stay away from physics. Students who showed scientific aptitude, were "side-



The cover of a paperback edition of Frantz Fanon's "Handbook for the Black Revolution," *The Wretched of the Earth*.

tracked" into the pseudo-sciences, that they might voluntarily adopt, through acquiring a "terminal degree" in the same, the very set of pseudo-scientific prejudices that were the basis of the colonial system.

In the case of Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), although he was trained as a physician at the University of Lyons, it was also there that he became an avid reader of Martin Heidegger, Friedrich Nietzsche, Karl Jaspers, and Jean-Paul Sartre, the "Negro handler" who was later to author the introduction to Fanon's most famous writing, *The Wretched of The Earth*. Fanon attached a quote from Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*

to the top of his 1952 doctoral dissertation. Fanon was then, after he successfully completed the academic requirements for a degree in psychiatry, tracked to the hospital at Blida, Algeria, where he, a decorated World War II veteran, joined the National Liberation Front (FLN).

In 1945, in the city of Setif, Algeria, 40,000 Muslims were killed by the French Algerians in one month, in what was referred to as "Open Season on Arabs." Nine years later, a terrorist war was to begin in earnest, in which Fanon would play a significant role, including as the representative of the provisional government of the Algerian revolution at the 1960

'Bankers' radicals' protect Bush, abet African genocide

In September of 1996, in St. Louis, Lyndon LaRouche was prevented from exposing the role of "secret government" entity George Bush in the establishment of the crack-cocaine trade in the United States, by a gaggle of 1960s left-over African-American "cultural nationalists." It was later revealed, that several of these individuals, such as Connie Tucker of the Southern Organizing Committee, were on the payroll of various foundations dedicated to population control. In 1995, Tucker's Southern Organizing Committee received \$25,000 from the Noyes Foundation, whose president, Stephen Viederman, is not only a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, but a former director of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. Tucker and Viederman's dalliance was not a "one-night stand." Total money granted to the SOC between 1991 and 1996 by the Noyes Foundation was \$114,500.

George Bush, known during his 1960s stint in the U.S. Congress as "Rubbers" Bush for his fanatical commitment to stopping African, and African-American, births, brought the notorious racists William Shockley and Arthur Jensen to testify before the Republican Select Committee on Earth Resources and Population in August of 1969. That very year, Shockley had written that "our nobly intended welfare programs may be encouraging dysgenics—retrogressive evolution through disproportionate reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged."

In the same period, Bush also stated at other hearings, in response to worries expressed by Dr. Alan Guttmacher of Planned Parenthood, that "we are in a sensitive area in regard particularly to the Negro. . . . There are some elements in the Negro group that feel we are trying to keep down the numbers. . . ."; that "I would like to say I am

1,000% in accord with the goals of your organization. I think perhaps more than any other type of organization, you can do more in the field of poverty and mental health and everything else than any other group I can think of." Bush was a main advocate of U.S. support for the United Nations Population Fund, the same Fund recently headed by Tucker's "sugar daddy," Stephen Viederman. Further material on these matters is extensively documented in *George Bush: The Unauthorized Biography*, written by Anton Chaitkin and Webster Tarpley, and published by EIR.

Many "African-American radical socialists," including Connie Tucker, scribbler Manning Marable, and others, are sponsored by foundations that act as "operations intelligence" agencies on behalf of the financial oligarchy now engaged in a raw materials grab in Africa. It should be noted, however, that their major intelligence assets deployed in the "de-Africanization" of Africa, are the graduates of the 1960s and 1970s "Black Studies" and "African Studies" programs that were established in the heyday of "New Left" radicalism. Africa's Dar Es Salaam University, the alma mater of mass-murderer and Hitler-supporter, Yoweri Museveni, the dictator of Uganda, was the counterpart to such programs in the U.S. and Europe.

To make it plain: Bankers, and financiers, are at present imposing fascism throughout Africa, with the direct participation of, complicity of, or silent approval of, the majority of "African Studies," "Black Studies," "Black Caucus," "African-American think tank," "Pan-Africanist," etc., associations of the United States and Europe. To find the "slave mentality" that is enslaving Africa, look at the chairmen and financiers of America's "African Studies" programs. Look at the "African-American" radicals. There is an easy litmus test. Who, among them, is engaged in a consistent, relentless battle against that "first-class devil" George Bush? Whoever is not, is in league with the devil, or, as in the case of Connie Tucker, "sleeping with the enemy."

All-African Peoples Congress in Accra, Ghana. It was in the context of the Algerian War that Fanon would discover his "vocation to violence," a "typically French" calling that had been preached earlier by anarcho-syndicalist Georges Sorel, in his *Reflections On Violence*—as well as having been the theme that had exhausted most of the leadership, good and bad, of the French Revolution.

Fanon had volunteered, as a loyal French subject, to fight on the side of the Free French in World War II. In fact, he had been decorated with the Croix de Guerre by Col. Raoul Salan, who would later become the head of the OAS, the "secret government" organization that would attempt to assassinate Charles de Gaulle multiple times. He did not realize, however, that he would be recruited by the ethnology project of British Intelligence, of which Heidegger-follower Sartre was the

main public proponent. Fanon would be recruited as a member of the "extended psychological warfare division" of the Tavistock Institute, becoming far more influential after his death than he was at any time in his short career.

By the time the "colonials" were arriving in Europe to be trained to "take over" their countries, the cultural pessimism that had plunged the world into two world wars had completely dominated the universities of Europe. It was that cultural pessimism that was then introduced, by way of these

'Revolution 101' at Dar Es Salaam

The sponsor of the 1969 Museveni trip to Mozambique, as mentioned, was the Department of Political Science at the University of Dar Es Salaam. Museveni's "study" appeared in a volume titled *Essays on The Liberation of Southern Africa*, published by Tanzania Publishing House, Dar Es Salaam, 1971. The introduction to this collection is antiseptic, and chilling: "The four essays appearing in this volume . . . were written as part of the required course work for an option course offered by the Department titled 'The Politics of Southern Africa.' The Head of the Department of Political Science, Dr. A. H. Rweyemamu, decided that selected essays should be published in this form in order to preserve some of the findings for future students taking the same course or others, and to encourage Dar Es Salaam students to do original research in subjects of their particular interest."

Among others who made contributions to this "How To Make a New Dark Age" manual was Brazil's Paulo Freyre, head of the Educational Division of the World Council of Churches in Geneva in 1971, and a follower of Fanon. Investigation of the role of Freyre in South America, would demonstrate that the same "Fanonist" outlook was applied there as well, in the laboratory creation of "indigenous peoples' movements" as a way to destroy the nation-state, and to carry out the same raw materials grab that is now going on in Africa, led by the "cultural anthropology" experiments, called "narco-revolutionaries," that litter the South American landscape.

Museveni embraces Fanon's doctrine of violence

Sources familiar with the University of Dar Es Salaam have joked that "anyone in Dar Es Salaam's Political Science Department, could get a degree from the school by reading three authors—Marx, Lenin, and Fanon." (Mao Zedong was considered an "elective.") However, research files have produced a document called "Fanon's Theory on Violence: Its Verification in Liberated Mozambique," by Yoweri Museveni, the product of a "field trip" he took, on behalf of the University, with six other students, to Mozambique in 1969.

The document has the advantage that it reveals, not only Museveni's thinking about the work of Fanon, but his understanding about what Fanon means by the use of violence. It also demonstrates how *field applications* of Fanon's theory are the basis today for the Kabila-Kagame-Kaguta (Museveni's middle name) "KKK" destruction of African people, in the image of Cambodian mass-murderer Pol Pot.

Museveni begins his essay with a quote from Fanon; "At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force." He assures the reader: "Fanon did not advocate violence for its own sake. If he had, he would have been a homicidal maniac, not a revolutionary. . . . Fanon advocated violence in order to bring about total and authentic decolonization. He says: 'Decolonization which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a programme of complete disorder. But it cannot come as a result of magical practices, nor of a natural shock, nor of a friendly understanding.' . . .

"[Fanon] goes on, 'The naked truth of decolonization evokes for us the searing bullets and blood-stained knives which emanate from it. For, if the last shall be first, this will only come to pass after a murderous and decisive struggle between the two protagonists. . . .' In other words, Fanon acknowledges violence as the highest form of politi-

students, into the colonies and former colonies, as "anti-Western" ideology. This would, in turn, inform the "choice of curriculum" for the "revolutionary universities" of the newly emerging African nations in places like Dar Es Salaam, a key area of British influence in Africa.

There may still be those that view the psychedelic, associative political antics of the 1960s New Left with nostalgia, and even a hidden, wistful pride. However, for the sake of the millions whose lives are being snuffed out in the most

concentrated genocide in history, it is time that we set the record straight. It is both the "New Left" ideology of the 1960s, particularly as expressed in the writings of psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, and the writings of one of Fanon's major influences, Nazi Heidegger-follower, Jean-Paul Sartre, which are the primary reason for the collapse of the political "immune system" of the United States and Western Europe, and its consequent moral indifference to African genocide, today.

For example, there should be no surprise whatsoever, in

cal struggle. He also says that it is only reasonable, if we are talking about fundamentally changing the colonial society which, to him, means making the last first, and vice versa, to expect to use violence. In other words, like Chairman Mao, he acknowledges the fact that it is naive to rely on the 'good sense' of imperialism or to expect that exploiters are going to abdicate their seats peacefully. He further adds that this colonial situation is perpetuated by the use of colonial violence, and to end it, you must use revolutionary violence."

Of what does Museveni-Fanon's revolutionary violence consist? "Political commissars, many of them trained in Algeria between 1962 and 1964, agreed that the first obstacle to overcome before enlisting people's support, was to convince them that they could kill a European. This sometimes was overcome by the guerrillas organizing an ambush against the colonialists in the neighborhood. Once the people got to see a dead white man, killed by Africans, then the ball would have been set rolling; more important still, it was more remunerative to get the masses themselves to kill enemy troops. Such *visual aids* help the 'native'—the dehumanized black man—to realize his potentiality and power vis-à-vis his enemy. . . .

" . . . Here in Mozambique it has been found necessary to show peasants fragments of a Portuguese soldier blown up by a mine or, better still, his head. Once the peasant sees guerrillas holding the head of the former master, the white man's head cold in death, . . . he will know, or at least begin to suspect, that the picture traditionally presented to him of the white man's invincibility is nothing but a scarecrow. . . ."

Museveni, however, has a "politically correct" view of the use of Fanonist violence: "However, once the peasants' passions are aroused, they usually swing to the other extreme; that all white men are devils, and all white prisoners must be killed. . . . This position is not entirely wrong, but needs to be corrected in the interests of waging a scientific struggle."

Museveni also tries to stress that he does not wish to separate the "field work" of the "revolutionary student" from the "revolutionary peasantry," "who still have to be

trained by the revolutionary cadre force." "A high-ranking military cadre will augment the peasant's awakening by political lectures to the soldiers." (This is exactly what Laurent Kabila's forces established in the holocaust areas of Zaire, where political indoctrination apparently also involves mass exterminations as "laboratory work.") Museveni also indicates, in this early paper, the "borderless revolution" thesis that we see today in his dream of a "greater Tutsi empire": "The military cadre might have been trained in Algeria, North Korea, Cuba, China, or the Soviet Union. The peasants themselves might be sent to Tanzania for military training or on various missions"—perhaps like those of the Rwandan "search and destroy" units loose in the Zaire-Congo bush, reported on by refugee workers to AP and *New York Times* reporters in recent weeks.

Education, to be truly revolutionary, Museveni asserts, must be directly connected to violence. "It might be said that one can conduct such political education without fighting, so that Fanon's theory on violence becomes a superfluity or mere romanticism. I do not share that view. Without a revolution, a revolutionary social convulsion, one cannot get the necessary discipline to mobilize the population. One cannot create a new order unless one shakes the old one; that is why the Chinese bourgeois revolutionaries, like Dr. Sun Yat Sen [sic] and the communists were opposed to the old Chinese society, to Confucianism—which acted as a stabilizing element of the Chinese empire by providing it with an ethical basis."

We see in Museveni's hostility to Confucianism, that he is not simply a "hater" of "Western civilization" but of the stabilizing influence of civilization as a whole. Of course, that should not surprise us, given that he believes that decolonization, as Fanon states, "is, obviously, a programme of complete disorder." This is probably what recommends Museveni as "a model for African leadership" to his State Department Office of Population Affairs supporters, his friends at CSIS, to "free enterprise" raw materials pirates, such as the "Cobalt Club's" Michael Ledeen, and to the IMF and World Bank, the most "anti-civilization" forces loose in the world today.

the transition of Yoweri Museveni from being an ultra-revolutionary devotee of Mao, Lenin, and Fanon, to being the "bargain-basement" auctioneer of the patrimony of Uganda. That is the *lawful conclusion* of adherence to the doctrine of "revolutionary violence" and "societal decolonization" that is at the core of the curriculum taught at Dar Es Salaam, and the "extracurricular activity" advocated by the Dialectic of Liberation Congress. Museveni still "expropriates land," but now,

it is from his countrymen.

This is not to say that those who were, in the 1960s, "along for the ride," necessarily knew, particularly in their usually mind-altered state, what political vehicle they were getting into, or what ideological horse they were riding. This is similar to those who ended up in the SA, or SS, but, arguably, never intended to become mass murderers. The question is, what sorts of decisions do people make, or have made for

'Black handlers' Jean-Paul Sartre and Jean Genet: 'Nostalgia for the mud'

While the British and the French are both legendary for their racism, there is a difference in *style* between the two. This is also true, to a degree, in the training of colonial intelligence officers. The French prefer a catamite-like relationship to their colonials, particularly the black Africans, whom they find simultaneously fascinating and repulsive—unlike the British, who simply revile them. For example, the British would never have recruited Josephine Baker to London in the 1920s to dance naked, clothed only in a string of bananas around her waist, as she did, to great acclaim, in pre-Hitler Paris. Away from the mother country, or at least the stage, that kind of entertainment for Englishmen might be allowed, but creating a spectacle of such a thing at Albert Hall just wouldn't do (at least, not until the 1960s "Winds of Change" policy of Harold Macmillan made Jimi Hendrix possible).

The call for the destruction of Western civilization did not originate with Africans from the colonies, or "Third World people," but with the decadent French elite itself. By the turn of the century, France was the headquarters for the anti-musicians called "Les Six," including Claude Debussy and Erik Satie, various faddists in painting, such as Marcel Duchamp, and the "automatic writing" of Gertrude Stein. This would escalate, in post-Versailles France, into the Dadaist and Surrealist Movements. Opium-soused "dramatists" like Antonin Artaud, or film-maker Jean Cocteau, would call for the "killing" of Western civilization. They saw "the blacks" as their allies in this, since the "blacks" were completely untouched by civilization, or were, despite themselves, possessed of a Jungian "collective unconscious" that rejected Western civilization "instinctively."

"Existentialism" was simply a variety of fascist ideology that sought to propagate a method for the destruction

of Western civilization. It was this "method" which Fanon learned at the University of Lyon, in his study of Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers, and, of course, "the black intellectual's best friend," Jean-Paul Sartre.

It was Jean-Paul Sartre, the French sycophant-follower of the Nazi philosopher Heidegger, who was the French intelligence, and British Intelligence, "Negro handler" for Africans, African-Caribbeans, and African-Americans, from at least the 1940s, and possibly earlier. Sartre was one of the board members and sponsors of *Presence Africaine* magazine, together with Aimé Césaire (Martinique), and Leopold Senghor (President of Senegal), the leaders of what was called the "Negritude" movement, and African-American author Richard Wright. In 1947 Sartre wrote the essay "Black Orpheus" as the introduction to a collection of "Negritude" poetry. He also wrote the introduction to Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, as well as to the selected speeches of Patrice Lumumba, slain in the Congo in 1961.

Sartre's simultaneous fascination with "things African," and emulation of Heidegger, with whom Sartre had studied in Nazi Germany in 1933, were not, in fact, contradictory. Sartre's first, and most famous novel, *Nausea*, is primarily a description of Heidegger's famous *geworfenheit*, or "being-thrown-ness." Writes Heidegger: "The actuality of true life lies in the being-thrown-ness. . . . Man . . . is not the self-conscious, self-righteous subject for whom the world is an object, but man is eternally in the world; he is part of it, and he must live with it, in sorrow."

For Sartre, Africans, and African-Americans, appreciate this "profound absurdity of their existence" instinctively, thus removing any need on their part to tempt fate by the rather dicey enterprise of taking Heidegger's Nazi philosophy courses at the University of Freiburg in 1933. Rather, Sartre speculates, "blacks" demonstrate their "instinctive grasp" of "being-thrown-ness" in jazz. "For a moment, the jazz is playing; . . . there is no melody, only notes. . . . They race, they press forward, they strike me a sharp blow in passing and are obliterated. . . . I must accept their death; I must even *will* it; I know few impressions stronger or more harsh. . . .

"A few seconds more and the negress will sing. . . . If

them, that can cause them to commit such monstrous acts as we see occurring today?

During the discussion period after the first session of the 1966 Dar Es Salaam symposium, attended by representatives from over 20 nations, and sponsored by World University Service (headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland), a Dr. Bockstiegel, a professor from Germany, advanced the following ominous proposition: "I would like (and this is where I differ

from my friend from the USA) to submit that in today's world, no country can afford to regard the university other than in an almost exclusively utilitarian way. . . . I would also like to say something about the production of ideas. The use of brains makes it possible to meet the needs of society in new and better ways. This implies something which may sound like something terrible to a great number of German university professors at least, but it implies a limitation of the search for

I love this beautiful voice it is . . . neither for its fullness or sadness, rather because it is the event for which so many notes have been preparing, from so far away, dying that it might be born. . . . The last chord has died away. In the brief silence which follows I feel strongly that there it is, that *something has happened*. Silence.

" 'Some of these days

" 'You'll miss me honey. . . .'

"What has just happened is that the Nausea has disappeared."

Disappeared, that is, for Sartre—not necessarily the reader.

Sartre's Heideggerian racism, though, was more than embarrassing. It was lethal. Some Africans and African-Americans once close to Sartre, like Richard Wright, discovered that something was wrong, although almost always too late. Others, like Fanon, never knew what hit them—in part, because they *agreed* (as did Fanon), with the Nietzschean premises of existentialist thought.

When Tavistock Institute's R.D. Laing and D.G. Cooper composed a book titled *Reason And Violence: A Decade of Sartre's Philosophy*, a handbook to instruct their psychological warriors in how to develop revolutionary shock-troops en masse, Sartre composed an introduction to their text as well, stating, "It is, I am happy to say, a very clear, very faithful account of my thought. . . . [W]hat attracted me in this and your earlier works was your constant concern to find an 'existential' approach to the mentally sick.' "

One of the "mentally sick" that Sartre used as a guinea-pig for his brand of "existential psychoanalysis," was the pederast, thief, homosexual prostitute, and "genius" author, Jean Genet. Genet was the subject of a several-hundred-page tome by Sartre called *Saint Genet*, and became a sort of *cause célèbre* in the France of the late 1940s and early 1950s, the "genius-criminal" (not an unfamiliar preoccupation of the post-Hitler period). Genet, who authored several novels, was also the author of a 1950s play called *The Blacks: A Clown Show*. This nearly incomprehensible tract, which required for performance an "all-black cast," including those who are seen only in "white face" masks was widely viewed at the time as a "revolu-

tionary drama," in the which many African-American actors, unable to work in a still-segregated entertainment industry, premiered or appeared.

This gave Genet a ticket into the "black movement," which he cashed in, in 1970, coming to America to "slum"—that is, tour—with the Black Panther Party. Genet, who was not without insight, was a "New Age ethnologist" with a keen, and pornographic, eye. "When the Panthers' Afro haircuts hit the Whites in the eye, the ear, the nostril . . . they were panic-stricken. How could they defend themselves in the subway, the bus, the office, and the lift against all this vegetation, this springing, electric, elastic growth like an extension of pubic hair? The laughing Panthers wore a dense furry sex on their heads. . . ."

Genet sees the Panthers' use of violence in erotic terms. "[The Panthers'] violence was almost violence in the raw, but as a response to white violence it had a meaning beyond itself. The Panthers had to open breaches, make gashes, in order to make contact with the world: Hence marches in which arms were carried openly, murders of policemen, bank hold-ups. Their coming into the world caused fear and admiration. At the beginning of 1970 the Party still had both the suppleness and the rigidity of a male sex organ: and it preferred erections to elections."

What is significant in this, is that the Panthers' susceptibility to the profiling operation run by Genet, was their admiration for Frantz Fanon. Bobby Seale of the Party claimed to have read *The Wretched of the Earth* six times. Former Black Panther Minister of Information, and "loose cannon ball," Eldridge Cleaver said, "The feelings and thoughts and passions that were facing us were incoherent and not connected until we read Fanon." Criminal minds like those of Fanon and Heidegger-follower Sartre were cool observers, and manipulators, of "black rage," and leeringly admiring of its "primordial" nature, as well. They admired Africans as a taxidermist admires a butterfly. Genet described the Black Panthers with the precision, and voyeurism, of an undersexed zoologist. It was his and Sartre's "anthropology" reports, which were used to destroy whatever was left of the post-Martin Luther King civil rights movement internationally.



R.D. Laing, a leading member of its psychological warfare division, and a purveyor of psychotic "revolutionary" violence.

truth in the university. This may sound really terrible, but, on the other hand, I think we have to do it. The unlimited range of search for truth simply makes it necessary" (emphasis added).

Bockstiegel's conclusion was intended to bolster a speech given earlier by Mr. Griffith Cunningham, principal of the Kivukoni College at Dar Es Salaam, the official "party school" of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), "the single political party of Mainland Tanzania." As Griffith explained in his speech, "Kivukoni College . . . was established in 1958. . . . We came into operation in 1961. Tanzania was under colonial rule in 1958 and the party was not allowed to set up a college because the British Colonial administrators felt that it would become a party college, and this would be a bad thing. Instead, TANU set up an independent trust, which turned around and set up a party college anyway."

A furor had erupted when Cunningham clearly outlined to his listeners that his program for education amounted to little more than what would have been called at the time a Maoist "serve the people" indoctrination, masquerading as a several-year-long "curriculum." "The course we provide is in the social sciences. It is not vocational. . . . Besides this, we do a short course programme which is devoted almost entirely

to helping the political party . . . it provides government servants with some political education, so that they know how to work with the party. This is important, in a one-party state. Many of the civil servants were raised in the British tradition, and they do not really understand how the one-party democracy works."

Cunningham also proudly described the radio propaganda efforts of his students. "Once a week we have a programme called 'Tell The Nation' . . . a very practical programme about why you have to pay taxes and what local government is and how it works. . . . [V]ery, very simple, using a vocabulary of 200 to 300 words of no more than two syllables—all in Swahili." In order to avert the problem of college students "adopting European values," Cunningham fully endorsed what he referred to as the Tanzanian government's program of "national service." "It means that every student, when he graduates, has to go out and put on a pair of army boots, and get up at 5:00 in the morning, and live in a tent." Alarmed delegates from various nations either openly objected, or tried to muddy the embarrassing clarity of Cunningham's presentation, but found his position not only seconded, but furthered, by Bockstiegel's "New Dark Age" attack on truth and the search for truth.

Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, himself a school teacher, had said, in his 1970 speech, "The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries," "There are some people who would undoubtedly challenge the assumption that the University should cooperate with the government. . . . Yet this is to say that a University could, and should, live divorced from its society. It implies too, that there is an automatic conflict with Government—that Government is not concerned with truth! . . . I fully accept the task that the University is to seek for truth, and that its members should speak the truth as they see it, regardless of consequences to themselves. But you will notice the words 'to themselves'; *I do not believe they should do this regardless of the society*" (emphasis added).

As Nyerere should remember, from the experience of apartheid in South Africa, colonialism in his own country, fascism in Germany, and recent injustices, such as that against LaRouche, in the United States, it is decidedly dangerous to equate the terms "government" and "society." It is in the combination of this equation, of "government" with "society," and what Bockstiegel called the "limitation of the search for truth," that produced the nightmare student of the 1960s, Yoweri Museveni. Museveni, who read Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* at Dar Es Salaam, was a political science student who did "field study" of the success of Fanon's theory of violence in the Mozambique theater, directly as part of his university study. He saw violence as "a laxative, a purgative, an agent for creating new men" (see box). Museveni, and his fellow graduates Kabila, Afwerki, Zenawi, Garang, and others, now are proving the merit of the education they re-

ceived—a kind of “on the cheap” version of British Colonial Office “special forces” training in psychological warfare, not appreciably different from, although perhaps not as thorough as, that gained by Serbian war criminal Karadzic from London’s Tavistock Institute.

Tavistock’s Ronald David Laing, and David G. Cooper, in their openly admitted organizing of the “Dialectics of Liberation” conference of 1967, pitched that conference to emphasize an attack on the United States and its war in Vietnam. To that end, they used the speech of Stokely Carmichael, then the leading spokesman of the “Black Power” tendency in the United States, as the “vector” to catalyze an emotional “feedback loop” in the conference’s participants. Carmichael, who, according to Museveni’s autobiography, was also at Dar Es Salaam, opened his speech by quoting from “one of my patron saints, Frantz Fanon.” Carmichael also made it clear that he was creating a division between the “Old” and “New” Left, and that the dividing line was color. “There will be new speakers. They will be Che, they will be Mao, they will be Fanon. You can have Rousseau, you can have Marx, you can even have the great libertarian John Stuart Mill.”

R.D. Laing, a formidable clinician, viewed this confrontation with intense interest. In his lecture called “The Obvious,” Laing presented the conference, as was his wont, with an “inside look” at the mind of the psychiatrist, and at the “metapsychiatric” awareness of the contemporary political terrain that Tavistock, for purposes of effective mind-control, demanded of its psychological warfare experts. “Someone is gibbering away on his knees, talking to someone who is not there. Yes, he is praying. If one does not accord him the social intelligibility of this behavior, he can only be seen as mad. Out of social context, his behavior can only be the outcome of an unintelligible ‘psychological’ and/or ‘physical’ process, for which he requires treatment.”

Laing admonishes his audience that, to make this presumption, is to miss the truly “clinically interesting.” “Someone whose mind is imprisoned in the metaphor cannot see it as a metaphor. . . . The unintelligibility of the experience and the behavior of the diagnosed person is created by the person diagnosing him, as well as by the person diagnosed.” For Laing, the same rule holds for politics, as in clinical work. The “black American struggle” or the war in Vietnam, were not necessarily governed by rules of social behavior any different than those by the which a schizophrenic might find himself the victim of the irrational behavior of his family. A little later, Laing’s work would be used to form the Heidelberg Mental Patients Collective, out of the which would come the Baader-Meinhof Gang, one of the major “cover stories” for British Intelligence-related assassins and “wetworks” in Germany to this day.

D.G. Cooper made it clear that he and Laing were completely aware that they were making a political intervention into the radicalism of the time. “I would like to outline . . .

why we, the organizers, arranged this meeting between these particular people, why we generated this curious pastiche of eminent scholars and political activists,” he writes.

“Our experience originated in studies into that predominant form of socially stigmatized madness that is called schizophrenia. Most people who are called mad and who are

Sartre’s ideas on violence

Sartre’s ideas on violence would seem at first to be identical to those of Fanon. In reality, they are far more vicious. The recent events in Zaire-Congo, almost directly reproduce Sartre’s “theory of revolutionary violence,” as rendered in his introduction to the 1972 edition of the Lumumba speeches. “Those fighting unite in order to win a skirmish, but also to escape the perils of death: Reprisals by the colonial power put the seal on secret pacts. Violence is brought to bear at one and the same time against the enemy and against the particular interests playing the enemy’s game; if the group organized is armed, it blows off locks and door hinges, liquidates the enemy leaders, the ‘tribal chieftains,’ and wipes out feudal privileges, everywhere replacing the officials put in positions of power with its own political cadres *as the struggle is going on*. At the same time a popular war implies the unity of the army and of the people, and therefore the unification of the people themselves: Tribalism must disappear or the insurrection will be drowned in a sea of blood; the liquidation of these vestiges is carried out during the struggle, through persuasion, through political education, and if necessary through terror. . . . If two insurrectional movements happen to coexist at the beginning and do not merge forces, either they will both be massacred by the colonial army or else one of them is sure to annihilate the other. Once the battle is won, the leaders are at once soldiers and politicians: They have shattered the old structures and everything must be rebuilt from the ground up, but it does not matter; they will create *popular infrastructures*; their institutions will not be a copy of European ones; as mere stop gaps their aim will be to ward off the dangers threatening the young state by *reinforcing unity at the expense of traditional freedoms*” (italics in the original).

Or, as Simone de Beauvoir, the wife of Sartre, mused, in her introduction to a volume of the writings of the Marquis de Sade, “‘Nothing resembles virtue more than a great crime,’ said Saint Just.”

socially victimized by virtue of that attribution . . . come from family situations, in which there is a desperate need to find some scapegoat . . . The doctors would be used to attach the label 'schizophrenia' to the diseased object, and then systematically set about the destruction of that object by the physical and social processes that are termed 'psychiatric treatment.'

"All of this seemed to us to relate to certain political facts in the world around us. One of the principal facts of this sort was the war of the United States against the Vietnamese people." Thus it is made clear that both Laing and Cooper approached their "Congress" as a clinical experiment in mass-psychiatry, along the lines of some of the guidelines offered by Tavistock Institute head John Rawlings Rees in his book *The Shaping of Psychiatry by War*. In his book, Rees calls for the creation of mobile psychiatric teams, what he refers to as "psychiatric shock-troops." The clinic becomes indistinguishable from a city street, a jungle ritual, a cocktail party, or a lecture hall. Angela Davis, who attended the conference on her way back to the U.S. to infiltrate the Black Panther Party for U.S. State Department operative Herbert Marcuse (who also spoke at the conference), distinctly remembered that "in the enormous barn-like structure, its floor covered with sawdust, the air reeked heavily of marijuana, and there were rumors that one speaker, a psychologist, was high on acid."

The targeting of the United States by the "Dialectics of Liberation" Conference, was largely a targeting of Martin Luther King and his non-violent movement. King had, partially at the urging of the Rev. James Bevel, on April 4, 1967 at New York's Riverside Church, given a speech opposing the war in Vietnam—a speech which had polarized America. He had been roundly criticized for the speech by the established civil rights organizations. The "Black Power" advocates, who perceived themselves to be more "radical" and therefore more "serious" than King, were used by various intelligence agencies, including by way of police-authored urban disruptions, to divide the forces that King could have assembled, slightly a year before the opening of the 1968 Presidential campaign.

King had more than noticed the fascination with Fanon that raged in the United States. "Over cups of coffee in my home in Atlanta and my apartment in Chicago, I have often talked late at night and over into the small hours of the morning with proponents of Black Power who argued passionately about the validity of violence and riots. They don't quote Gandhi or Tolstoy. Their Bible is Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*." (Eyewitnesses and participants in these discussions, such as the Rev. James Bevel, who acted as the Director of Direct Action for King, as well as the head of the Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, assert that the difference between those who advocated violence, and those who did not, was largely a difference between the theology students, who had formed the backbone of King's early non-violent movement,

and the "political science" students," who saw the movement only in political, rather than spiritual, terms.)

King differed from his "Black Power" critics, including in their attack on the United States. "The hard cold facts today indicate that the hope of the people of color in the world may well rest on the American Negro and his ability to reform the structure of racist imperialism from within and thereby turn the technology and wealth of the West to the task of liberating the world from want." This was King stating his commitment to the anti-colonial outlook that had been enunciated by Franklin Roosevelt at the close of the war, but left unfulfilled. Against the notion of violence, King had earlier stated, "If every Negro in the United States turns to violence, I will choose to be that one lone voice preaching that this is the wrong way."

(It should also be noted that the post-Mecca statement of El-Hajj Malik Al-Shabazz [Malcolm X], in the which he had

Fanon's economic false consciousness

The "hereditary mistake" contained in Fanon's thought, is most carefully delineated in the conclusion to *The Wretched of the Earth*. There, in the name of turning Africa away from imitation of the decadence of European culture, he demonstrates that his ignorance of economics will condemn him—and anyone who follows his ideas—to *surpassing* the oppression practiced by the former colonial powers.

"That same Europe where they were never done talking of Man, and where they never stopped proclaiming that they were only anxious for the welfare of Man; today we know with what sufferings humanity has paid for every one of their triumphs of the mind. Come, then, comrades, the European game has finally ended; we must find something different. We today can do everything, so long as we do not imitate Europe, so long as we are not obsessed with the desire to catch up with Europe. . . .

"When I search for Man in the technique and style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders. The human condition, plans for mankind, and collaborations between men on those tasks which increase the sum total of humanity are new problems, which demand true inventions.

"Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try

made clear his intent to reject the idea of racism against whites, should be added to his attempts to form what he referred to as the "Organization of Afro-American Unity." Numerous attempts had been made, including by African-American expatriates in France, such as author Richard Wright, to unify the cause of Africans and African-Americans. Malcolm's increasing willingness to work with the King movement, as seen by his presence in Selma, Alabama only about three weeks before his death, meant that he was willing to explore the possibility of non-violent direct action, as he had indicated in his "The Ballot or The Bullet" speech. Such an alliance between King and Malcolm, had the two men lived, would have meant that the "Black Power" movement *would not have evolved in the form in which it did*. That is not to say, that this was the cause of "Gay" Edgar Hoover's secret-government-inspired assassination of Malcolm. It is to point out, that the rank incompetence in organization exemplified

by the "big talkers" of the Black Power movement, and the strident rhetoric they used as a substitute for activity, could not have "occupied the same space" as Malcolm X.)

King's advocacy of non-violence, was an advocacy of *agapē*, one that he had voiced at least as early as 1956, when he was 27 years old. "*Agapē* is not a weak, passive love. It is love in action. *Agapē* is love seeking to preserve and create community. . . . *Agapē* is a willingness to go to any lengths to restore community. . . . The Cross is the eternal expression of the length to which God will go in order to restore broken community. . . . He who works against community is working against the whole of creation. Therefore, if I respond to hate with a reciprocal hate I do nothing but intensify the cleavage in broken community." In another location, King stated, "*Agapē* means . . . understanding, redeeming good will for all men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. When we rise to love on the *agapē* level we love men not because

to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth.

"Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster, in which the taints, the sickness, and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions. . . ."

Fanon, like almost everyone educated in any university in Europe or America today, shows complete ignorance of the fundamental superiority of the American Revolution, and the American System of Economics, over anything accomplished in post-Enlightenment Europe, particularly the French Revolution, which was run by British Intelligence. Fundamentally, Fanon's "justifications for violence" are essentially no different than the arguments of the Terror of Robespierre and Saint Just.

More important, however, the fact that it was the American System of economics, practiced by the Philadelphia school founded by Benjamin Franklin and his protégés, Alexander Hamilton and Mathew and Henry Carey, which accounted for the success of the United States—not the slave system, which accounted for the *backwardness* of the United States, and the large fortunes of a Southern and Boston oligarchy—was unknown to Fanon, just as it is unknown to virtually all graduates of American and European universities in this century.

Fanon's criticisms of Europe are true for the Enlightenment, and the British and Dutch East and West India Companies that financed the culture of the Enlightenment. They are *not* true, for the networks of Gottfried Leibniz, inherited by Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society founder Benjamin Franklin, who attempted, unsuccessfully, to ensure

the dissolution of the British Empire with a successful revolution in France, in gratitude for the efforts of the Marquis de Lafayette, and the scientific circles that would be guillotined by the Terror, such as Antoine Lavoisier, who would be executed in implementation of the Pol Pot-like ukase, "The Revolution has no need of scientists."

The unfortunate popularity of attacks on "European civilization," makes it especially easy for the British intelligence services to deploy African agents of influence, like Museveni, to advocate the most intense looting of Africa since the colonial period, and yet appear to be "anti-Western radicals." That is because they *are* anti-Western radicals, in the same image as the main anti-Western institution—that is anti-nation state, anti-autonomous government currency, anti-infrastructure, anti-scientific research and development, and anti-universal education forces: the British oligarchy, and its global co-thinkers and lackeys, of the which, Fanon himself, and probably against his will, was one.

The intelligence term for this is "dupe." The solution to the problem, is to study economics. Readers are encouraged to familiarize themselves with the *real* American System, by reading the work of the virtually unknown scholar Allen Salisbury, an African-American, whose work *The Civil War and the American System*, first published in the 1970s, resurrected the American System in the 20th century. ¶

As time goes by, and the Eurasian and Continental Land-Bridges are built, it will be recognized, and acknowledged, that Salisbury's work, is the thread of the most important historical research carried out in the United States in this century.



Martin Luther King (inset) and his collaborator Rev. James L. Bevel: Their non-violent mass movement for civil rights and human dignity challenged and frightened the racist neocolonialists.

we like them, not because their attitudes and ways appeal to us, but because God loves us.”

Frantz Fanon realized that “the native is an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the persecutor.” He recognized this as a slave’s mentality, and, as a doctor, recognized it as a malady. His admiration for Nietzsche, his manipulation by Sartre, and his anger at the mass-murdering racism of the French in Algeria, caused him to write a tract that is now used to justify the mass-murder actions being carried out by his followers, the “KKK” of Kabila, Kagame, and Kaguta Museveni.

Yet that is *no justification* for the conclusions to the which Fanon came. The conclusions were wrong. Patrice Lumumba, in the Congo, had, in contrast, terrified the Belgian colonial establishment by organizing Belgian students as the international flanking force of his Congolese National Movement. Like King, Lumumba, at the Free University of Brussels in 1959, had stated, “We want to secure our independence through the united effort of all. We want the Belgians to put a stop to their divisive policy. We must understand each other, and they must join forces with us. This is how we can build the Congolese nation, through the friendship of all. I think—I am in fact convinced, and optimistic to believe that despite everything, despite the insults, the moves to intimidate us, the threats that have been made, we have chosen the path we will

follow and the sort of struggle we will wage, one that will continue to be non-violent. . . . We too decry violence. We have chosen just one weapon for our struggle, and that weapon is non-violence, because we believe that whatever the goal, it can be reached by peaceful means. That is what our struggle represents, and that is why I call for the moral support of every friend of humanity, of all those who believe that every human being, whatever the color of his skin, whatever his social status, can and must enjoy the same freedoms as every other citizen of humanity.”

In not learning what the young Martin Luther King knew—that while “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere,” that the power of ideas, such as that of *agapē*, is greater than any force, including military, on the planet—Fanon never escaped that permanent dream of the oppressed. Neither will the Fanonist graduates of the Dar Es Salaam Political Science Department, who today threaten to plunge Africa into an unstoppable Dark Age on behalf of Barrick Gold Honorary senior adviser George Bush, a moral “spitting image” of his father, Prescott Bush, who helped move the money into Hitler’s 1932 war-chest.

In the case of Dar Es Salaam University, the “terminal degree” has come to mean the termination, by its political science graduates, of the nation-state in Africa, bullet by bullet.

